

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

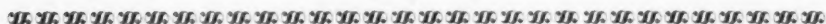


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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE, INCORPORATED
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

\$6.50 a year

\$1.75 a copy

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Volume XVIII. No. 2

April 1958

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SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by The American Neptune, Incorporated, Salem, Massachusetts

Printed by The Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine
Collotype plates by The Meriden Gravure Company, Meriden, Connecticut

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A Quarterly Journal



of Maritime History

VOLUME XVIII

APRIL 1958

NUMBER 2

READERS will notice that the quarterly bibliography of current maritime writings is missing in this number. This is not a permanent thing, but is unfortunately necessary because of the illness of Mr. Albion. He is now convalescing and the April and July bibliographies will be combined in the next issue.

We have recently learned that the Alfred Smith & Co., bookbinders, 338 South Camac Street, Philadelphia, have closed their doors. Alfred Smith was actually a very elderly lady, Mrs. Smith, widow of the original proprietor. She has now died and as some of our subscribers have been sending their copies there for binding they are probably wondering why they have not been returned. We mention it as several people have told us that they have volumes there at the moment. Mrs. Smith left no heirs and so far we have been unable to find out who should be contacted. One of our Philadelphia subscribers is endeavoring to solve the problem. If any subscriber faced with the dilemma of getting his NEPTUNES returned will write Mr. M. V. Brewington at our address, he will pass on whatever information we have.

A new editorial ruling will go into effect immediately but will not apply to material that has already been accepted for printing. There have been a number of complaints from readers about long or continued articles. We agree that such articles unduly delay the publication of other authors. There are still several stories on hand that it will be necessary either to print as continued articles, or that will fill most of one number.

Once these have been used, however, we will no longer accept articles longer than seventy-five hundred words. Shorter articles mean greater variety in the magazine's contents and more opportunity for more people to get their material published. It will also enable us to whittle down our backlog of manuscripts.

As article length is only one of the many problems that need consideration we plan to have a meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board some time before the year is out, probably in late summer or early autumn. It is now some time since one of these gatherings was held, and Board members are so widely scattered geographically that this is no easy matter. However, we hope that at least half of the people will rally round if we plan the meeting far enough ahead of time.

With this in view, we would welcome letters from subscribers with suggestions for what they would like the group to consider. Several letters have been received already with very pertinent suggestions and I am sure there are others who would like to add their views. In making suggestions it should be borne in mind that there is no paid editorial staff to enter into time-consuming correspondence attempting to solicit articles on particular subjects or from special groups or individuals. We must continue to choose from what is sent in. Fortunately there is much more submitted for consideration than can possibly be accepted, but several groups who should be writing articles from time to time never do.

ERNEST S. DODGE

Peabody Museum of Salem

The Maiden Voyage of Ann and Hope of Providence to Botany Bay and Canton, 1798-1799

BY ROBERT W. KENNY

SOMETIME in the spring of 1798 Benjamin Tallman, master builder, of Providence, turned over to Brown and Ives, also of Providence, the ship *Ann and Hope*, which had been named after the wives of the owners: Ann Carter Brown and Hope Brown Ives. The vessel, which cost about \$45,000, was built by Colonel Tallman at his shipyard on the west shore of the Providence River where a generating station of the Narragansett Electric Company now beautifies the Providence skyline above Point Street Bridge. *Ann and Hope* had two decks, three masts, and a figurehead representing a woman, not further identified.¹ The vessel was registered by her owners Nicholas Brown and Thomas Poynton Ives in Providence on 17 July 1798, although by this time *Ann and Hope* had been ten days at sea on her maiden voyage to Botany Bay, New South Wales, and Canton, China. The owners' keen pleasure in the new ship must have been considerably abated by the death, three weeks earlier, of Ann Carter Brown on 16 June 1798.

The agreement between the owners and Captain Benjamin Page, the master of *Ann and Hope*, provided that Page was to receive \$10,000 for the voyage, payable ninety days after the return to Providence, eight tons privilege, a stateroom for his own use, with Brown and Ives defraying his cabin expenses at sea and factory expenses at Canton.² The agreement urged Page to hasten the preparation for sailing as the season was well advanced, to practice rigid economy in victualling at sea and in his dealings with compradors at Canton, and to load as much cargo as pos-

¹ *Ann and Hope* was of 550 23/95 tons burden, 119 feet 4 inches from stem to stern, 32 feet 4 inches at the waist and 16 feet 2 inches from top deck to keel.

² Factory: a combined office, warehouse and dwelling. Here shipmasters and supercargoes conducted business while their vessels were in port. The term is of Portuguese origin and was commonly applied to the warehouses on the Pearl River at Canton where Europeans conducted business. Privilege: officers and men were frequently allowed free shipping space in the hold of a vessel for goods purchased on speculation.

sible as the owners had been under great expense in building and fitting out *Ann and Hope*. The captain was expressly ordered to sail around the East Cape of New Holland as the insurance was so written. 'You will by all means avoid the Cape de Verd Islands, and give the Cape of Good Hope and Isle of France good births [*sic*].' On the homeward passage Page was free to select the route but the owners recommended that the Straits of Sunda be avoided. News was expected daily that France and the United States were at war, and although there never was a formal declaration our vessels frequently sailed well armed and with augmented crews in order to defend themselves from French naval attack. *Ann and Hope* was, as a matter of fact, a privateer and her commission, signed by Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State in the Adams administration and dated Trenton, New Jersey, 29 August 1798, is preserved in the Brown Papers. Her armament was twelve nine-pounders, and her unusually large crew, fifty-three, was well equipped with pikes, cutlasses, nets to repel boarders, and a considerable variety of small arms. 'You have,' wrote Brown and Ives to their captain, 'a good crew and good officers and we expect you to defend yourself if attacked by corsairs or cruisers.' A fine new ship such as *Ann and Hope* would have been a rich prize for any French war vessel; in addition, however, she carried something over \$80,000 in specie with which to purchase cargo in Canton.³ Under the circumstances the concern of her owners was understandable.

Captain Page, an experienced shipmaster, was familiar with the route the owners wished their ship to follow on her outward passage: around the Cape of Good Hope, across the Indian Ocean, around the East Cape of New Holland, north to the vicinity of the Ladrões (the earlier name for the Marianas Group), thence westward to the China Coast and up the Canton River to Canton. In 1793 Page had been master of the ship *Hope*, Brown and Francis, owners, the second United States vessel to enter an Australian port, Sydney in New South Wales, and the first United States vessel to enter Manila. In 1795 he commanded the ship *Halcyon*, Clark, Nightingale and Megee of Providence, owners, on a voyage using the route planned for *Ann and Hope*. Accompanying the captain was his son, Benjamin Page, Jr. I do not know his exact status; he did not sign articles of agreement with Brown and Ives, and his name does not appear on the portage list. There seems to have been some sort of private agreement between Captain Page and the owners, for the steward's books show that young Page ate at the cabin mess, and he had a small tonnage allowance

³ *Ann and Hope* went out in ballast as the New England hinterland could supply no products which the Chinese wished to buy.

which appears as part of his father's account. His name appears nowhere in his very conscientious log. Notations, by the first mate, Christopher Bentley, in his log and in Dr. Carter's Journal make young Page's responsibility for the second log quite clear.⁴

The voyage of *Ann and Hope* may fairly be said to have started at 3:00 P.M. on Thursday, 10 July 1798, when Captain Page came aboard 'below the crook.'⁵ In another hour the ship was underway and dropped down the river, anchoring for the night opposite South Ferry, Newport. At 4:00 A.M. *Ann and Hope* was again underway and by 10:00 A.M. Block Island bore W. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. five leagues distant as the ship headed to sea on a course S.E. by S.

The first day was employed in stowing anchors and getting cables below, dividing the crew into watches, and quartering the men. Thereafter, in addition to the usual log notations of wind, weather and courses, sails raised and lowered, appears the laconic entry, 'All hands employed in sundry duties aboard ship.'

The calm tenor of shipboard life was broken on Saturday, 14 July, when David Arnold of Warwick fell overboard out of the head. The ship was hove to, the jolly boat lowered with the second and third mates, Mr. Simmons and Mr. Sinkins, in her and 'at length brought back the man contrary to our expectations.' Such breakings of the voyaging calm were fortunately not frequent and on 20 July Dr. Carter summed up the mood aboard ship.

Having been at sea 12 days during which time we had a great run off this coast and a regular and judicious government established on board nothing seems sufficiently remarkable in our uniform tenour of life to notice particularly. With regard to the ship's crew they have been tolerably healthy. A few have been afflicted with sores that require a slight dressing. Among these Mr. Sylvester Simmons 2d mate who received some wounds on both legs in his humane attempt to recover Arnold who washed overboard.

Both logs and Dr. Carter's Journal have a great sameness for days at a

⁴ The maiden voyage of *Ann and Hope* is very well documented. The John Carter Brown Library has two logs: one kept by Benjamin Page, Jr., the son of the master, and another kept by Christopher Bentley, the first mate. The Brown Papers, also in the John Carter Brown Library, contain the ship's manifest, the firm's correspondence with the master, Captain Page, and Samuel Snow, the supercargo, and the accounts of the ship's steward, Daniel Tillinghast. The Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society has the manuscript, 'Journal of a Voyage to Canton in the Ship Ann and Hope,' kept by the ship's surgeon, Dr. Benjamin Bowen Carter. This material makes it possible to reconstruct the voyage, a significant and interesting one, with considerable accuracy.

The Appendix contains brief biographical sketches of Captain Page; the ship's surgeon, Dr. Carter; the supercargo, Samuel Snow; the first mate, Christopher Bentley; and the builder of *Ann and Hope*, Benjamin Tallman.

⁵ 'Below the crook.' Conjecturally Field's Point in Providence harbor.

time. The crew have gun drill, the people are allowanced according to the steward's books, potatoes are picked over and the rotten ones heaved over the side, preparations are started for the ceremonies incident to crossing the Equator, rain water is collected and stored in casks, the sight of a tropical bird is noted, and charcoal is burned below decks to sweeten the air. Dr. Carter wrote: 'What Geographers say concerning the Climate in the torrid zone we find to be true, that it rains and clears up many times a day in these Latitudes.'

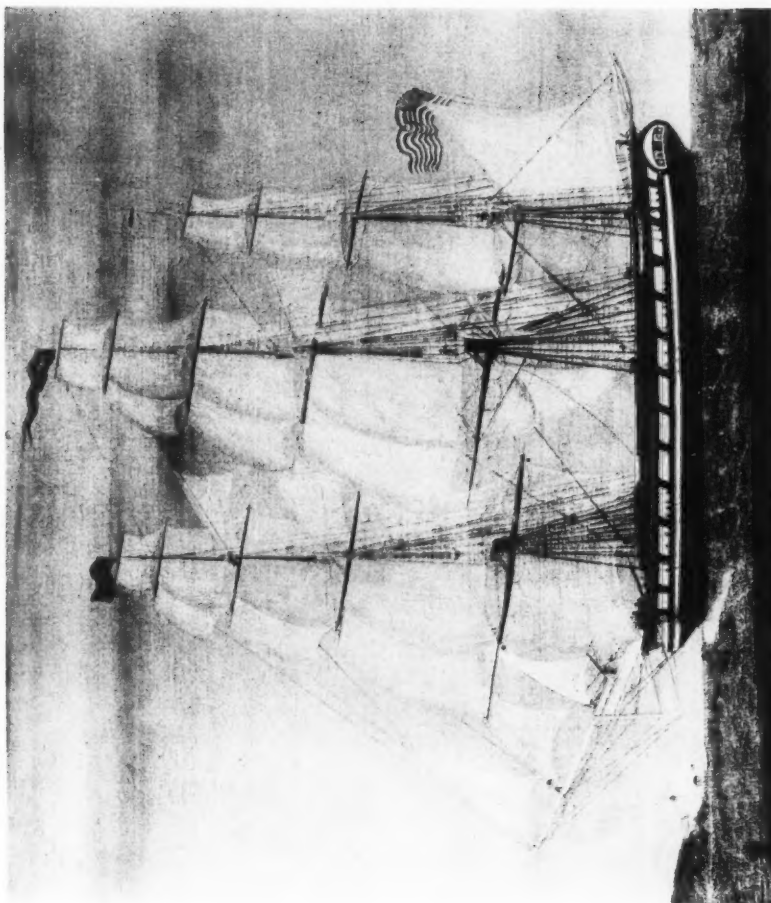
By 28 July *Ann and Hope* was in the latitude of St. Iago in the Cape Verde Islands although some miles west of that group. Two days later Dr. Carter had a chance to practice his skill when Boatswain John Wilson fell on a belaying pin. His report is very, very professional.

The wound is inconsiderable externally but from the excruciating pain he is in, I am inclined to think his liver or some of the viscera of the abdomen injured. I drew 16 oz. of blood from him and applied a plaister. . . . His diet is principally rice. A violent colic attended him during the night. Glysters repeated every hour. An obstinate costiveness. He is very thirsty, his drink molasses and water, rice water etc.

On Thursday, 9 August, *Ann and Hope* crossed the Equator just east of Cape San Roq, Brazil. Mate Bentley noted, 'At 3 P.M. broak off work and the people went thru the Serimony of passing the Equator.' Young Page's log shows that forty of *Ann and Hope's* crew were shaved and ducked that afternoon. Dr. Carter did not comment about the probably undignified ceremonies.

Ann and Hope continued on her course towards the Cape of Good Hope. Both logs and the Journal indicate the monotony of the voyage during days of pleasant weather and good sailing. Tropical birds, a sleeping seal which wakes and dives, a night when the 'Stars shone with uncommon lustre,' flying fishes playing about the ship, the colder weather as the ship sails southward, albatrosses and pintados: all of these are mentioned for lack of more exciting entries. As *Ann and Hope* moved further south heavy winds and rains, and, later, sleet and snow storms were recorded. There were many good sailing days and on 1 October *Ann and Hope* logged 262 miles. Dr. Carter wrote, 'This is the greatest run we have made going for 16 hours together at the rate of 11 knots and 11 1/2.'

'Monday 10 September. We judge ourselves to be full up with the Cape of Good Hope as to our longitude. The latitude of the Cape is 34 degrees, 29 minutes South. Longitude 18 degrees 29 minutes East. It is now 2 months since we left Providence, R. Island. We are sensible of the Mozambique current setting to the W.' Once in what the logs refer to



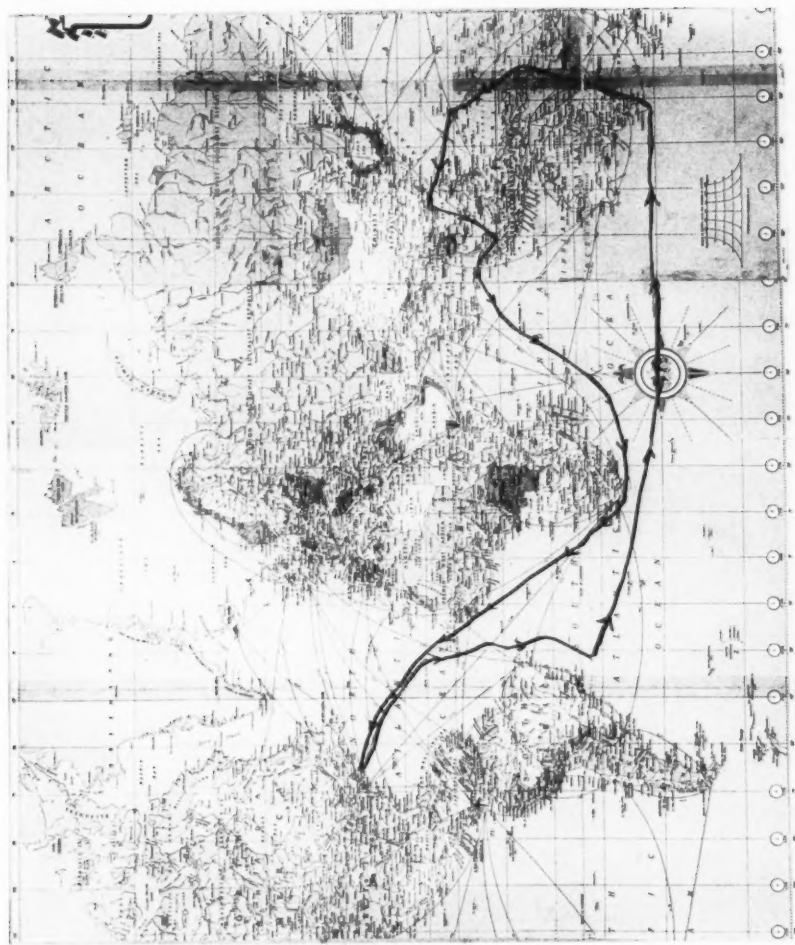
Ship *Ann and Hope* of Providence
Courtesy of Brown and Ives



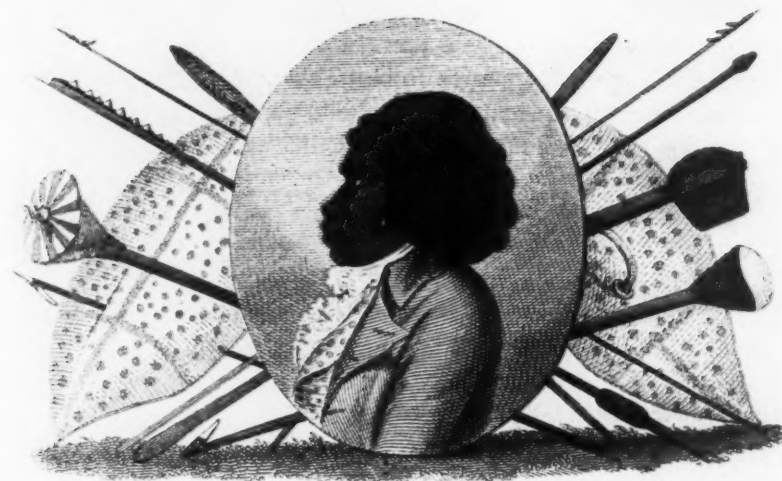
Figurhead of *Ann and Hope*
Courtesy of Mrs. R. H. Ives Goddard



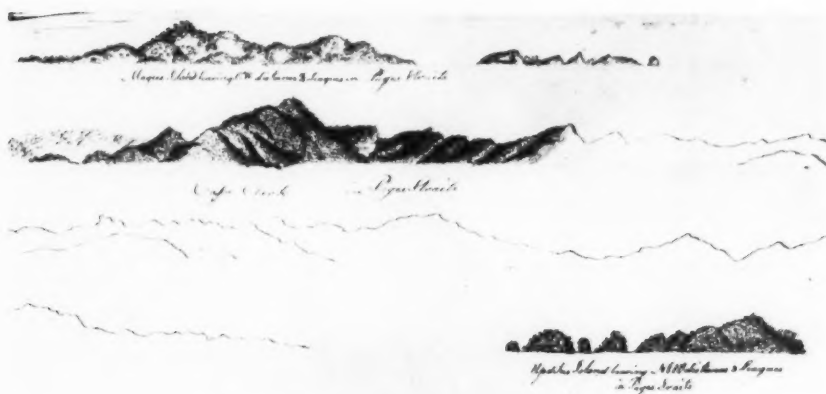
Portrait of Benjamin Bowen Carter by Francis Alexander
Courtesy of Brown University



Track of Ann and Hope



Benelong the first Australian aborigine to visit England



Profile sketches in Benjamin Page, Jr.'s Log
Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library

as the 'Great South Sea' *Ann and Hope* had many days of uneventful sailing although occasionally heavy seas were encountered.

On the afternoon of 9 October Page's log noted that 'we sent a man aloft to look for land, think ourselves very near the SW Cape of New Holland—none to be seen.' With the rising of the sun the next morning 'saw the Mewstone bearing N by E about 5 leagues distant, the point of land which Captain Page reached from the quarter deck gave us all the greatest satisfaction.' Dr. Carter recorded his pleasure as landmarks appeared and were identified: the Pedro Blanco Rocks, the Swilly and Eddystone islands, the South Cape with its mountain tops covered with snow. 'It is remarkable that just 3 months have elapsed since we left Rhode Island to the day which gives us an agreeable prospect of the land, having had one of the most extraordinary passages ever made and sailed by the log 14,585 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles. We passed Tasman's Head and the South Cape going a great rate.'

Once the South Cape was cleared additional sails were hoisted. The stub jib boom was replaced by a pole jib boom, and taller topmasts were broken out, to be stepped into place at Botany Bay. All possible sail was hoisted to catch all of the light Pacific winds. Dr. Carter observed: 'A very great difference is perceived since yesterday in the agitation of the sea, the S[outh] Cape acting as a barrier to the W winds renders the Pacific Ocean as smooth as the surface of a Lake or river very different from that we experienced in the Great S [South] Sea.'⁶

The passage from the South Cape, Van Dieman's Land to Botany Bay was uneventful. A number of whales were seen and one night there was a flurry of excitement when from the deck of *Ann and Hope* a fire was seen in the distance. A closer view showed a whaler trying out oil, her masts silhouetted against the sky by the flames from beneath her try pots. On 18 October Point Solander was reached but the wind was unfavor-

⁶ Benjamin Page, Jr., had a modest talent in both mechanical and free drawing and his handiwork embellishes his log of the voyage. With what appears to be literal accuracy, he drew the deck plan of *Ann and Hope*, with dimensions, line drawings of her sails, an ornate compass card, and a copy of the Australian gum tree reproduced from Collins' *History of New South Wales*. His artistry took a more useful turn when he commenced, at the South West Cape of New Holland, a series of profiles of the more significant landfalls such as the Mewstone, Swilly and Eddystone Rocks, Tasman's Head and the South East Cape of New Holland. These were accompanied with compass bearings in each case. While *Ann and Hope* was trying to enter Botany Bay, Page copies the chart of that area which appeared in the 1773 edition of *Hawkesworth's Voyages*. To this he added profile drawings of Points Solander and Banks on either side of the entrance as they would appear to the lookout of a ship at sea. During the passage of Page's Straits drawings were made of Meggee's and Updike's Islands and Capes Clark, Nightingale and Halcyon. On the homeward passage Page drew four sketches of the Cape of Good Hope, showing the famous Lion's Head and Table Rock, and finally, at journey's end, Gay Head and Martha's Vineyard. The drawings may have been made for esthetic reasons, but this is hardly likely. Young Page was following an age-old tradition of seafaring men in noting all aids to mariners. Many Rhode Island mariners may have seen and copied these profiles.

able for approaching Port Jackson and *Ann and Hope* tacked interminably to the frustration of all on board. The formally educated surgeon remarked, 'Thus does Port Jackson fly from us as did Italy from the wandering Trojans. A few hours of fair winds would bring us to our long wished for harbour but adverse fate and contrary winds condemn us to plow as yet the inhospitable ocean. The sandy shores and the blue hills sending up smoke lie continually in sight, but like the cup of Tantalus they elude our grasp and mock us with vain expectation.' For three days *Ann and Hope* tried to get to Port Jackson. On 21 October a pilot came on board and the ship bore away for the inferior harbor of Botany Bay where she came to anchor near a watering place at 5:00 P.M. The next morning part of the crew commenced the task of getting fresh water and firewood aboard; the rest were busy in sending down the short masts and sending up the longer ones, 'the old masts and shrouds being too short for the light breezes of the Pacific Ocean.'

The next morning the ship's yawl went up to the head of the bay with Messrs. Snow, Thompson, Page and Dr. Carter, who described their visit ashore in great detail.

As the savages were the first object that attracted our notice, I will here make a digression concerning them. No sooner had we entered Botany Bay than we discovered numbers of the natives armed with spears running and walking on the sandy beach on the N side of the Bay. On Point Solander with a good glass we saw others sitting in a ring round a fire. . . . The natives to the number of about 20 including women and children all entirely naked assembled on a flat rock, where they began dancing and yelling with great vociferation, sometimes accompanying their salutations with peals of laughter. After we had anchored, two canoes came from Point Solander. One crossed over to Point Banks; the other steered for the ship. As they drew near we perceived there were two men in the canoe. They paddled through the water with more rapidity than could be expected from the small paddles not more than two feet in length. They have one in each hand, and sit squat with their feet curled under their hams, preserving an exact equilibrium in their unsteady canoes. The two natives encouraged by kind words came on board. One whose name was Maroot appeared to be a young fellow about 25 years old, the other was an old man, but they did not know their ages. Maroot was a thin man of the common height. They spoke some English which they had learned in Sydney. The septim was perforated and a reed about 4 inches long thrust through it. This the sailors ludicrously called a sprit sail yard. They were entirely naked and shivered much in the rain. We soon furnished them with waistcoats and trousers, bread and meat. The old man left the ship promising to bring some fish which he never did. We gave Maroot a glass of brandy which made him very talkative and forward. They all appear to be fond of spiritous liquors. Several other canoes came off, in one was a woman with a child at her breast. They all asked for bisquit and promised fish in return, but never brought them. They brought their spears and shields

on board. Their spears were about 10 or 12 feet in length made of the Gum Tree Stalk armed with Iron wood, some were bearded and jagged, others were stuck full of broken glass which closely adhered to the Iron wood by means of Gum. Others were made without beard or glass but simply of the Iron wood sharpened to a point. They discharge these spears by an instrument called *wormora* with great force and wonderful exactness. Their shields were cut from a tree by means of a stone hatchet, and must cost them much labour in the execution. Many of the natives had their hair matted up in small strings with gum, in some the hair was ornamented with Kangaroo teeth, shells etc. fastened to it. What Gov. Philips writes concerning the women not being permitted to wear their ornaments is perhaps a mistake as I saw several with my own eyes ornamented in this manner. The natives of New Holland are of a smaller size than common, they are very slim in their persons, having small legs and arms. They are black like negros and smell strong of whale oil. Their hair is not curly like the African but short and bushy. They have large beards and are exceedingly fond of being shaved. Their language is extremely harsh and guttural. The letter r appears to abound in their words which they roll out with great volubility. Maroot furnished me with several which I took down as nearly as they could be expressed, by the English language.

Their numerals are perhaps the most singular in the world, they are said to count not more than 4, but this is perhaps a mistake as by the combinations of several numbers they can tell a hundred in this manner.

wogul one
boolar two
brua three

blowre is synonymous with boolar signifying two, and from combining blowre with wogul all the other numbers are produced thus.

blowre, blowre	four
blowre, blowre, wogul	five
blowre, blowre, blowre	six
blowre, blowre, blowre, wogul	seven
blowre, blowre, blowre, blowre,	eight
blowre, blowre, blowre, blowre, wogul	nine

This much of their manners, customs and language.

To proceed now with my account of our Journey from Botany Bay across the country to Sydney, a British Settlement about 10 miles from Botany Bay. This morning (Oct. 21, 1798) Messrs. Snow, Thompson, Page and myself set off in the yawl. After rowing about 3 miles up the bay we discovered several men walking on the beach. At first we took them for savages, but as they drew nearer their clothes appeared. The leader of the party hailed us as we drew near the beach. He inquired what ship was in the Bay. We replied the *Ann and Hope* and that we were passengers bound for Sydney. This gentleman who hailed us was a Mr. Smith of Sydney who held a commission from the King. He had been an officer on board a man of war during the last war between Great Britain and America. S's servant Terribelong came aboard the yawl and guided them. The land around the Bay is low and swampy abounding in the iron wood and a species of mahogany. The trees and shrubs even

grow in the water and in many places take off much from the prospect of the Bay. A great variety of birds of beautiful plumage charmed the air with the melody of their songs. . . . We saw many of the red gum trees, the tea tree, and the N. Holland Oak. Some of the trees were 6 or 7 feet in diameter and of a great height, many of them were burnt out hollow to afford the wretched natives a house to shelter them from the rain and cold. Birds of various plumage and unheard songs accompanied us on our journey. One particularly who made the groves resound with his shrill noise like the sound of a bell is called the bell bird. Great numbers of curious plants and flowers sprang up under our feet, and the soil appeared to be very rich and capable of easy cultivation. In the midst of these vast woods we saw a solitary house and a barn abuilding, the property of a convict. The land was better cultivated the closer we got to Sydney, with promising crops of wheat, oats, rye and barley. The farm houses are mostly built of brick but for want of lime cemented with mud, and whitewashed on the outside with lime from oyster shells calcined. They are small but at a distance have a pleasing appearance. Their roofs are some thatched, some shingled with the N. Holland oak and others tiled, they seldom rise above one story. We passed several handsome gardens, particularly one belonging to Dr. Harris. We saw growing the Jesuits bark, the vine, the bamboo, bananas, castor nuts etc. But our course through the country was too rapid for any botanical minutiae. At 11 o'clock we arrived at Maj. Foveaux house where we dined.

New Holland extends from east to west 2400 English miles from N to S 2300 miles. The whole of the eastern coast was untouched by any navigator till it was explored by Captain Cook. It is a strong argument in favour of the improvements made by the moderns in navigation that Great Britain should plant a settlement at the Antipodes. New Holland lies between 111 and 153 E Long. and between 11 and 43 S Lat. It was first discovered by the Dutch in 1616. The whole East Coast was discovered and explored by Captain Cook in 1770 and called New S. Wales. No considerable rivers have been discovered. Two kinds of gum are produced here, the red and the yellow. The red resembles the Sang. Draconis, but is perfectly soluble in water. It is said to be good in dysentery but is too astringent to be given in doses larger than one grain. The yellow gum is a resin not at all soluble in water. The plant that produces it is low and small with long grassy leaves, but the fructification of it shoots out in a singular manner from the center of the leaves on a single straight stem to the height of 12 or 14 feet. Of this stem the natives make their spears. [There are] a great variety of birds several of which before the discovery of this country were nondescripts. The cutting implements of the natives are made of stone. In May 1787 the British Government fitted out a squadron of 11 vessels with 850 convicts under the command of Arthur Philip Esq. in order to form a settlement on this continent. At first they pitched upon Botany Bay from the favourable description of Sir. Jos. Banks. A better acquaintance with the country made them relinquish the settlement for Port Jackson about 9 miles distant, which has a harbour capable of holding 1000 sail of the line with safety. The native women of this country in general have lost two joints from the little finger of the left hand. The men mostly want the right front tooth of the upper jaw. I saw one man who had lost one joint of his left thumb, but this was probably by a spear which they throw with such force as sometimes to pierce the shield and nail it to their hand. The scars on their bodies are of a singular kind. Sometimes

the skin of the flesh for several inches appearing as if filled with wind and forming a round surface more than a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. Their bodies are scarred in various places, particularly on the breast and arms and frequently on the instep. Their fish hooks are made of the inside of a shell resembling mother of pearl.

The Town of Sydney stands at the head of Sydney Cove but the buildings are continued along the water on both sides. Governor Philip laid out this town on a regular plan. The principal streets according to his design were to be two hundred feet wide and grants of land were to be made with such clauses as to prevent the building of more than one house on one allotment which was to consist of 60 feet in front and 150 feet in depth. But his successors contracted his intentions by allowing streets to be laid out and houses to be built at random and the town is now very irregular in its plan. This confusion will probably increase as the houses become thicker and the streets narrower. Thus the inhabitants will be deprived of a free circulation of air, which in a warm climate will be attended with many inconveniences. The first huts that were erected were composed of very perishable materials, the soft wood of the cabbage palm. The huts of the convicts were still more slight, being composed only of upright posts wattled with slight twigs and plastered up with clay. Barracks and huts were afterwards formed of materials more lasting. Buildings of stone might easily have been raised were there any means of procuring lime for mortar, neither chalk nor any species of Lime Stone has yet been discovered. Instead of thatch many people use shingles made from a tree in appearance like fir but producing a wood not unlike oak. The same wood split into clap boards serves for pales and enclosures for gardens. It is supposed that metals of various kinds abound in the soil where the town is placed. But Government discourages the working of mines. Spanish Brown is found in abundance and the white clay with which the natives paint themselves is still in greater plenty. The Abbe Receveur was of opinion if cleared of the sand which might be easily separated would make excellent porcelain.

The climate at Sydney is considered as equal to the finest in Europe. The rains are not ever of long duration and there are seldom any fogs. All the plants and fruit trees brought from the Cape thrive exceedingly. In their Gardens are cultivated excellent cauliflowers and very fine melons. The orange trees flourish here and the fig trees and vines improve rapidly. Hogs and poultry increase fast, and the black cattle which strayed from Sydney towards the interior part of the country have multiplied in abundance. On account of the War between Great Britain and France, provisions of every kind are very dear, here Mutton sells at 2/ Ster pr lb, Pork 1/, Fowls 8/ pr pair, Rum 5/ pr bottle, Madeira wine 4 Guineas pr doz, Port 3 Guineas, Tobacco 3/6 pr lb. and every article at the same extortionate prices, money in this country bearing but little value. They have an hospital, a Tower wherein is the Town Clock. The Church has been lately burnt down, an Observatory and a fort with 6 or 8 Cannons mounted. (In the evening we drank tea at Mr. Laycocks, the military commissary at this place). The people on board ship this day employed in wooding and watering. Slept at the house of William Bellamin.

List of the houses and inhabitants of Sydney taken from a Register at Dr. Bellamin's made 1796.

West Side of the Cove	127	houses containing	426	inhabitants
South Side of the Town	63	"	"	215 Since this regis-

East Side of the Cove	120	"	"	377	ter has been made
Brickfields	74	"	"	179	the settlement has
Governors Farm	8	"	"	20	remained in status
Total	392	"	"	1217	quo by reason of the war.

After breakfast at Dr. Bellamin's on Monday, 22 October, Dr. Carter walked to Major Foveaux's.⁷

Here I saw several of the natives armed with spears, shields, and clubs sitting around the house and sunning themselves. It seems this was the rendezvous for the Botany Bay People. There was to be a fight this day among them. About 11 O'clock the Sydney party moved up towards the Barracks. In the two parties there might be 60 persons including women and children. The two armies sat upon the ground about a stones throw from one another in silent expectation for more than one hour. At length Coleby, a veteran warrior who was that day to stand the brunt of the battle rose up. He held his yeclemon—or shield in his left hand. With his right hand he stuck his spear in the ground. He then kicked out his feet signifying his contempt for his enemies and his readiness for their approach. Three warriors of the Botany Bay party rose up and advanced towards Coleby. When about 30 yards from him they discharged their spears. Part glanced from his shield and part he avoided by dodging which he did with astonishing address. They then discharged other spears continually till at length the brave Coleby was wounded through the left leg. The spear appeared to go between both bones of the leg, the tibia and the fibula above the calf and from the hemorrhage of blood that followed must doubtless have wounded the crural artery. The undaunted Coleby even when wounded through the leg in this manner maintained his ground and even returned the spears to his adversaries throwing them back with the point to the ground. Dr. Harris who was present cut off the bearded part of the spear when it was easily extracted. At length the first three men of Botany sat down and 7 others rose up brandishing their spears and threatening the unfortunate victim with death. But nothing could daunt the intrepid heart of Coleby. Though sorely wounded he disdained to quit the field, but like an experienced warrior evaded the spears or repelled them from his shield. The natives of New Holland are perhaps the quickest sighted in the world as is evidenced by their address in avoiding the spears of their enemies. The seven warriors threw their spears continually at the unfortunate victim till at length Maroot who was one of the seven pierced Coleby through the instep, the ruthless spear went through and came out at the heel. But Coleby remained firm as before nor did he even change a muscle of his face. The spear was extracted in the same manner as the other. It is surprising how these people with so small a shield are able to screen themselves from such a multitude of spears discharged at them at once. They contract their bodies into as small a compass as possible, guarding their vitals. The Sydney warrior though bored through both legs remained irre-

⁷ The Mr. Smith who met *Ann and Hope's* shore party was appointed provost marshal of the colony by Governor Hunter in April 1796. He came to New South Wales in the First Fleet as a sergeant of the Royal Marines. Dr. Bellamin, also a First Fleeter, was principal surgeon to the colony in 1798; Dr. Harris was surgeon of the New South Wales Corps. Major Foveaux was also in the Corps. Mr. Smith, who may have spent an uncomfortable day for a missionary, is only known as the man from Otahete.

movable. It was now supposed that they meant to sacrifice him, as he had been noted for killing his enemies. But at length Benelong, a native of enlarged mind and who had been to England and dined with the first noble men of England rose up.⁸ He made a speech wherein it is conjectured he remonstrated against the propriety of 7 men throwing at one. The consequence was that part of the Botany Bay men sat down and part of them threw their spears at Benelong. Benelong had an iron shield which was large and he remained unhurt. And now the battle raged in other quarters and other men started up as a mark for their antagonists. Benelong and Coleby sat down having no one in particular to throw at them they were more off their guard than was prudent. At length a spear whether by chance or design struck Benelong in the side, it came out at his belly. On this the women set up a dismal yell like the howling of the infernal Spirits and beating their sides with great violence. Benelong remained extended on the ground and when I went up to him he was surrounded by his friends who had extracted the spear. He had fainted away and was senseless. The women around him were sucking the blood from the wound. But the battle still raged tho with abated fury and many spears were discharged but with little effect as these people are so well trained up to defend themselves that it is almost impossible to hit them even though many persons throw at them at once.

The generosity of these people is singular. When their enemies have discharged their spears, they will return them and prepare themselves for another assault. They frequently during the Battle ran up to the opposite party and received their spears from the enemy. Nor did their antagonists throw a foul spear or improve in the least the advantage put in their hands of killing an enemy alone or unguarded. If a man happens to be killed in the rencounters the battle increases and the women join in the fray. They maul one another on the head with a heavy club called waddle, and such is the texture of their bones that they sustain repeated blows on the skull without a fracture or without staggering. The strength of their bodies and their constitutions is such that they almost always recover even after being wounded through the body. They are averse to the white people interfering in their cure, preferring, and not without reason, their own practice of sucking out the extravasated blood. I enquired into the motives of these savage combats but could get no information. The Europeans at Sydney are almost as much in the dark now as they were 10 years ago with respect to the cause of these fights. The natives are cautious of explaining themselves and will even deny there is to be a battle on the day they prepare themselves for it. With respect to the personal bravery of these men no one can doubt who was an eye witness of the scenes. They have been called by some the bravest people on earth but whether speaking in such general terms is lawful or not I cannot decide. They remind one of Homer's descriptions of his heroes. The warriors throw themselves into the same attitudes, they harangue, they brandish and cast their spears in a manner similar to that described by the celebrated poet.

Η παρὰ τῆς ἀμπεταλῶν προεῖς δολιχοσση ἰὼν ἐγχεῖσθαι

⁸ Benelong was one of two friendly natives taken by Governor Phillip to England in 1792. He had been useful as a mediator in disputes between natives and colonial officials. He returned in 1794 with Governor Hunter, dressed in European garb, and lived in the governor's residence. He soon dropped his European clothes and newly acquired gentility, and by the time he was seen by *Ann and Hope's* shore party he had gone native pretty completely.

[Thus he spoke, and poised his far-shadowing spear, and hurled
And smote on the round shield of the son of Priam. *Illiad*, III, 355-356]

After Benelong was so severely wounded there was a pause in the battle occasioned by the screaming of the women. It was expected that he would die when there would have been more bloody work with clubs and axes. Some slight skirmishing nevertheless took place. One man was wounded in the thigh. Another had both thighs pinned together by a spear. I think that there was not more than 5 men wounded that I saw which was remarkable considering the animosity that they rushed to the combat, and the skill with which they throw their spears. Benelong after sometime recovered his spirits and was led off the field by two men. Coleby remained until the engagement was over (which lasted till near sunset) when he was borne off the field (on the shoulders of an European) covered with glory. The savages then divided themselves into small parties sitting round a fire and claiming a respite from the labours of the day.

The evening following the native battle Dr. Carter and his three companions called on Governor Hunter of New South Wales who had just returned from Parramatta on foot. Carter observed:

We found the Governor an agreeable man in conversation. The chief part of his life had been spent in the navy. He is well acquainted with the waters of Rhode Island having been stationed there during the American War, and recounts in a humorous manner the Capture of General Prescott by Col. Barton the particulars of which he well remembered having himself cautioned Prescott against sleeping in the country.

Governor Hunter told of his hope that an exploration then underway would discover a strait between Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) and New Holland (Australia) in the latitude of about 39 degrees south. 'A whale boat had been sent to explore this part of the world and had made great progress but was obliged to give up from the tremendous seas that nearly overwhelmed them. A Schooner had lately been equipped for this discovery, and in all probability we shall soon hear of this new Strait, which if discovered may shorten the passage from Europe to New S Wales considerably.'⁹

Dr. Carter's excursion ashore prompted some random jottings which indicated shrewd observation and an enquiring mind: the wide variation in summer temperatures from 60 to 110 degrees in a twenty-four-hour period; peak temperatures of 120 degrees which cause the birds to fall from the trees to the ground; the affability of the men; the scarcity of wives; the prevalence of mistresses; and the addiction of all to ardent spirits. The kangaroo and the cassowary were noted; poisonous snakes

⁹ George Bass, the surgeon of H.M.S. *Reliance*, with Lt. Matthew Flinders, R.N., in October 1798 circumnavigated Van Dieman's Land. The strait through which they passed bears his name. The news of the successful exploration did not reach Sydney until January 1799.

and antidotes for their bites; the great specific gravity of most Australian woods; the odd fact that no one in Sydney knew how to cure tobacco.

The hospitality received ashore was returned the next day aboard *Ann and Hope* when Mr. Thomas Laycock, the commissary of the New South Wales Corps, and his son; Dr. Harris, surgeon of the Corps; Mr. Smith, the provost of the colony; and a second Mr. Smith, a missionary from Otaheite, visited the Rhode Islanders. 'Captain Page welcomed us aboard, we sat down to a good dinner, drank diverse toasts and sang many patriotic songs. In the evening the Gentlemen returned to Sydney, except Mr. Laycock's son whom we put to bed.' *Ann and Hope* had been 'wooded and watered,' taller topmasts stepped, and larger sails bent on to obtain full advantage of the light Pacific airs; live hogs, poultry, potatoes and cabbages were taken aboard, young Laycock taken ashore and, on Thursday, 25 October, *Ann and Hope* sailed from Botany Bay on a course generally east of north. Lord Howe Island was passed on 29 October. Despite occasional heavy seas the weather was fair and a landfall was made early in the morning of Friday, 9 November. Dr. Carter's Journal recorded, 'The land proved to be the island of Moree [Bentley's log, Morea; U. S. Navy chart, Marau] at the Entrance to Page's Straits, the Southern Extremity of New Georgia.' Page's log notes correctly the locations of Capes Phillip and Sydney thus indicating that *Ann and Hope's* position was not the southern extremity of New Georgia, as we know it, but the southern coast of San Cristobal. Page's Straits would seem to be the body of water lying between Guadalcanal and San Cristobal to the south and Malaita to the north, the Indispensable Strait of modern charts: The Slot to an aging group of soldiers, sailors and marines who at Guadalcanal expected nightly forays from the Japanese during 1942-1943.¹⁰

¹⁰ Despite extensive exploration in the South Pacific in the eighteenth century there persisted, as late as 1780, a considerable doubt about the location of the Solomon Islands. They had been placed, conjecturally, at various times, from 2,400 to 7,500 miles from the coast of Peru and from seven to nineteen degrees south latitude. To obtain verified data, masters of British escort and convict ships were ordered to return to England through the conjectural Solomons area. It was in carrying out these instructions that Captains Gilbert and Marshall discovered the island groups which today bear their names.

On 14 July 1788 Lt. John Shortland, in the transport *Alexander*, departed Botany Bay for England by way of Batavia intending to follow Captain Carteret's track between New Britain and New Ireland. On 31 July he sighted land and for eight days sailed along the south coast of the Solomons from Cape Sydney on San Cristobal island to Bougainville; he thought he was seeing a continuous land mass but did not associate it with the Solomons. 'To the whole of this land—Lieutenant Shortland gave the name of New Georgia. There is indeed an island of Georgia, to the east of Staten Land, so named by Capt. Cook in 1775; but between these it seems to be sufficient distinction to call one the Isle of Georgia and the other New Georgia.' So wrote the editor of Shortland's *Journal*. Passing between Bougainville and Choiseul Shortland named the strait for himself. His name was later transferred to the islands which bear it today, the name of New Georgia was given to the island known as Roviana, and Bougainville's name restored to the straits. However, the present-day Capes Phillip, Sydney, Henslow, Hunter, and Satisfaction, and Mt. Lamma on Guadal-

Native canoes surrounded *Ann and Hope* once she was within Page's Straits. The surgeon's observations are interesting.

The inhabitants are of a light copper colour, woolly hair, and remarkably stout. At first they approached the ship with caution, but soon dispersed their fears and became sociable. Their language is harsh & guttural abounding in words that contain the letter r, they speak with great rapidity. In this respect it resembles the dialect of the New Hollanders. They were entirely naked except about the middle which was covered. Their arms were thickly ornamented with bracelets. Some had their ears slit in the manner of the N. American tribes. Others had shells and trinkets suspended from the nose. Their canoes were made so neatly as to rival the workmanship of the civilized nations. The length 10 or 12 feet capable of holding 4 or 5 persons each. They were extremely narrow at the stem and stern. The sides of some of their canoes were plain, others were beautifully inlaid with shells of different colours so disposed as to resemble a fish. They have stem and stern posts rising 4 or 5 feet above the gunwales. We gave them a few trinkets, knives &c with which

canal were so named by Shortland. In not recognizing the Solomons when he saw them, Shortland placed himself in the company of two other distinguished explorers, Bougainville and Surville.

Shortland arrived in England on 29 May 1789. Word of his presumed discovery became quickly known for his *Journal* was edited and appeared as a supplement, together with those of Lieutenants Watts and Ball, and Captain Marshall, in *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* which was published by John Stockdale in London on 25 November 1789.

Captain Page was familiar with the route to China around Australia, having made three voyages in the decade following the appearance of Shortland's *Journal*. (Page's voyages, all from Providence, were: 1792/1793, ship *Hope*, Brown and Francis, owners, Botany Bay, Canton and Manila; 1794/1795, ship *Halcyon*, Clark, Nightingale, Megee and Page, owners, Port Jackson and Canton; 1796/1797, ship *Zenobia*, Clark, Nightingale, Munro and Page, owners, to Canton.) Captain Page seemed to have been familiar with Shortland's *Journal* for he continued the mistake of calling San Cristobal New Georgia. Both logs and Carter's *Journal* give the positions of Capes Phillip and Sydney which had been named by Shortland. (I think it certain that a copy of Phillip's *Voyage* with Shortland's *Journal* as supplement was on board *Ann and Hope*. Two bits of evidence are offered. It will be remembered that when *Ann and Hope* was delayed by contrary winds in getting into Port Jackson Dr. Carter had written: 'Thus does Port Jackson fly from us as did Italy from the wandering Trojans.' I suggest that this statement is adapted from one in Phillip's *Voyage* where the editor in the preface had written: 'Thus does *finis* fly from us as did Italy from the wandering Trojans.' The second bit of evidence is visual. Facing page 60 of Phillip's *Voyage* is a plate showing the Yellow Gum Plant. This plate is copied with literal fidelity by Benjamin Page, Jr., in his log of the voyage.)

It was on the 1794/1795 voyage that Page seems to have discovered the strait that all on board *Ann and Hope* knew as Page's Strait. There was a hint in Shortland's *Journal*: 'The only places in which Lieutenant Shortland suspected that there might possibly be a passage which had escaped his observations was between Cape Phillip and Cape Henslow and again between capes Marsh and Pitt. The ascertaining these matters he leaves to other navigators.' Captain Page in *Halcyon* and Captain Wilkinson in H.M.S. *Indispensable*, sailed in company from Sydney. I believe that both masters believed that a new strait had been discovered. Each named it: Captain Page for himself; Captain Wilkinson for his ship. As *Halcyon* proceeded through Page's Straits, Captain Page named prominent physical features for his ship, his owners, his officers, his Providence friends and, as mentioned before, for himself. Thus we find Capes *Halcyon*, *Clarke*, *Nightingale*, and islands *Megee*, *White*, *Grant*, *Updike* and, of course, *Page*. The word *Indispensable* was placed on British charts and remains there to this day.

J. C. Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 1947); H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands* (London, 1887); Lord Amherst of Hackney and B. Thomson, *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1901); A. Phillip, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1789); *Historical Record of New South Wales*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 182.

they were much pleased. They gave us in return their spears, shells, some cloth of their manufacture, a few Cocoanuts &c. They stayed with us a little while and then went away rather abruptly repeating the word taboo. The stem and stern posts of their canoes were fantastically adorned, some with large bird's heads containing a fish in their bills, others with shells and tassels, and similar in appearance to the war canoe of New Zealand.

Later in the day, 9 November, *Ann and Hope* spoke *Jenny* of Boston, Captain Richard Brown, for Canton, 137 days out. Captain Brown wished to accompany *Ann and Hope* through the Straits, and Captain Page agreed. Young Page noted his dissatisfaction with the arrangement in his entry next day. 'As we very much outsailed the *Jenny* we took in Royals and studding sails fore and Miz top Gallant Sail and as we promised to keep company through the Straits we kept a light burning during the night. . . . The winds were very light, the ships kept together, and there was considerable visiting back and forth.

Captain Brown came on board and dined with us. As Captain Brown left Boston June 23, 1798 17 days before we left Providence, and spoke no vessel at sea he could give us little information. He informed us however that agreeably to his orders he had touched at the island of New Amsterdam and taken off 8 men of the crew of a sloop belonging to Boston that was wrecked there 4 months since. The *Jenny* is the property of a Mr. Dor a merchant of Boston and was considered as one of the fastest sailers till she fell in with the *Ann and Hope*.

Ann and Hope, slowed by light airs and the presence of *Jenny*, sailed peacefully through the Carolines towards the Ladrões. Young Page noted on 18 November that 'we caught a shark that fed all hands,' on 24 November a total eclipse of the moon was observed, on the 26th Captain Page 'sent the jolly boat with a quarter of fresh pork to Captain Brown aboard the *Jenny*,' and on the 27th, probably with a sense of relief, 'she [*Jenny*] spoke us and as we are all clear of all the islands we took our leave of him [Captain Brown] and made sail.'

On Saturday, 1 December, *Ann and Hope* dropped anchor in Tinian Roads. From the deck, wrote the younger Page:

We saw two white flags hoisted on Lord Anson's beach, and with a S glass, saw a man walking the beach which we concluded to be a Spaniard come to jerk Beef. The Island has a beautiful appearance from the Ship, and we could distinguish the cocoanut trees in great abundance, a few white cattle grazing around in what had the appearance of high Grass. The Captain and several of us got in the Yawl and went on shore.¹¹ On our landing we found the man which [we] took to be a

¹¹ Bentley notes in his log for 30 November, 'The Capt. with 25 men, Mr. Snow, Thompson, Capt. Page's son, and the doctor went ashore.'

Spaniard was an unfortunate Lascar who had been cast away on the Island 18 months before in a Brig that had sailed from Macao bound for Port Jackson. The Captain dying before she made this Island the command [fell] on the first mate, one Swain of Rhode Island, who not thinking it incumbent on him to proceed any further landed part of her Stores and part of her Crew with the Captain's whore and another of the same description, launched the Brig's topmast and left her a single Anchor in the height of the S.W. monsoon where she chafed her Cable, drove ashore and beat to pieces with the loss of one man.

Doctor Carter was deeply moved by the sight of the castaway.

When the pinnacle drew near shore he hailed her and enquired what countrymen we were. Being told, he was asked in return his own country & what man he was. He replied that he was an unfortunate Lascar or Moor man of Bengal, cast away here 18 months since. When the Gunner went on shore he prostrated himself in the oriental manner. He informed us that he was the only man on the island, and he begged us to be taken on board and delivered from death. The scene was so affecting that it could not be beheld without tears. Capt. Page consoled him, assuring him that he should go to Macao in the ship where he would doubtless find bengal ships to return to his friends. The Moor was about 25 years old. He had been the Surang or head of the gang, a term answering to boatswain's mate with us and was really a man of abilities. He conversed in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Malay besides his own language. He informed us that his brig's name was *Bramin*, commanded by Captain McLelland, who died in Leuconia [Luzon], that the mate whose name was Swain succeeded to the command, that they arrived in Tinian 18 months since, and preserving no order or government aboard ship the Capt. being ashore and the people on board drunk, she parted her cables in the monsoon at night, struck on a reef where she went to pieces. The people were all saved but one man, part of the cargo was likewise preserved. The crew lived on Tinian in huts for some months, and at length all the white, 8 or 9 were taken off by a vessel bound for the NW coast. The Lascars, 9 or 10 in number remained until the arrival of a Spanish vessel. The Spaniards then confined them in irons and carried them off the island, all except this unfortunate man who escaped into the woods. When he returned he found that the Spaniards had plundered him of most of his property which he had saved from the wreck. Here he spent the remainder of his time in solitude and tears until our ship arrived, which according to his grateful acknowledgement rescued him from death. The circumstances in the life of this unfortunate man are so singular that I regret the want of time and abilities to describe them more fully in better language. At 6 P.M. we got under way for Canton.¹²

On 1 December *Ann and Hope* departed Tinian and after an uneventful passage arrived at Macao Roads on 11 December where the Lascar

¹² Captain Page had been ashore at Tinian on 22 February 1793 when he touched there in the ship *Hope*. Dr. Carter took his brief account of the island from Page's Journal, which in turn owes much to Lord Anson's *Voyage Round the World*. Captain Page did note changes on the island since Anson's visit, such as the fact that none of the famous pyramidal pillars near Lord Anson's spring was standing.

rescued at Tinian and a Filipino signed on at Botany Bay left the ship. Mate Bentley noted that 'a Leftenant [presumably of the Royal Navy] came on board and mustered our people.' On 13 December a pilot was secured and *Ann and Hope* proceeded up the Canton River to Whampoa where she was anchored on 15 December. The previous day Benjamin Page, Jr., had written, 'I shall keep no harbour log,' and had posted the distance *Ann and Hope* had sailed from Providence to Whampoa as 22,254.6 miles. Two days later Dr. Carter and Mr. Snow, the supercargo, were rowed in a sampan sixteen miles upstream to Canton in about three hours. Here they were dinner guests of a fellow Rhode Islander, Captain Jacob Smith of Newport, master of *Semiramis*, at his factory in Imperial Hong No. 3, where he was awaiting cargo. Next day Dr. Carter strolled about the suburbs of Canton and Mr. Snow hired the front of Hewqua's Factory.

According to instructions, Captain Page turned over to Snow at Whampoa the \$80,000 in specie which had made the voyage in five casks and thirty-five boxes, and Snow began to acquaint himself with the Hong market. The owners counted on Snow's assumption of the U. S. Consulship to expedite the purchase of cargo and the granting of credit. They had written him in Providence that 'the respectable position you will appear in in Canton will doubtless add to the Confidence of the Chinese; finding you to possess the distinguished regard of the Government of your Country we think will have a very favourable effect on their minds.'

On 18 December 1798 Captain Page dispatched identical letters to Brown and Ives in Providence, one in the ship *Ontario* and the other in the ship *Swift*, both of New York. 'After a passage of five months and one day I brought your excellent ship to Macao without the least damage or man out of health. Fell in with the ship *Jenny* formerly of New York reported to be the fastest ship in America, with her I proved the *Ann and Hope* to have the superiority of near a quarter.—I need not mention to you that the Doctor is a deserving young man, in professional abilities vastly superior to my conception, an agreeable companion.' A week later in a dispatch sent in the brig *Hazard* of Boston the captain's tone is somewhat different. 'I wrote you by the *Ontario* and *Swift* of N. Y. which sailed the 19th of our passage & good qualities of our ship, can only add that she is completely ready to take cargo, but I fear that the magnitude of our consulship will detain us here some time longer than I wrote you in my last; although it has never been, nor ever will be recognized; and

is a source of ridicule to the English and our own countrymen, & to tell you my feeling, I am mortified to death to think that I am the carrier of such an a-s.¹³

Ann and Hope had come out in ballast; this was unloaded by coolies into sampans; the crew were kept busy cleaning the ship, repairing spars, rigging and sails, and restowing gear more compactly. Food, wood, spars and rope, not deemed necessary for the homeward voyage, were, in accordance with the owners' orders, sold to shipmasters in the river, thus obtaining more money for cargo and more space in which to stow it. Efficient use of space was much in the owners' minds. In Page's instruction they had written: 'If you can possibly arrange it you must have some light Accomodations made up on deck for the Carpenter, Gunner & all those men which are provided now with Berths between decks in the after part of the Ship, those Berths & the bulkhead forward must come away.' After suggesting to Page that barreled provisions be stored in the crew's quarters the letter of instruction closed, 'In short we shall fully depend on the Ships being well laded.'

The loading of *Ann and Hope* began on 12 January 1799. Chests of tea (Bohea, Hyson, Souchong and Gunpowder), yellow and white nankeens, and chinaware made up the cargo. Most of the chests and boxes bore the owners' device S A & H, while the merchandise bought on speculation by the officers and the crew bore their initials. Dr. Carter (BBC), Mr. Snow (SS), the Captain (BP), his son (BPJr) and others used their tonnage privilege. The loading continued steadily and Captain Page informed the owners by letters dispatched on *Semiramis* (18 January 1799) and *Jenny* (29 January 1799) when he expected to sail for home.

On Monday, 4 February 1799 *Ann and Hope* dropped down the Pearl River with the ebbing tide, passed the first bar, but was too deep in the water to pass the second until thirty-six chests of Bohea were hoisted out and put aboard *Alexander*, Captain Dodge, of Boston. Two days later *Ann and Hope* passed the forts at Bocca Tigris where from the deck soldiers and mandarins could be seen parading along the hill in honor of the Chinese New Year. At Linting, *Ann and Hope*, together with *Jenny* and *Camilla*, joined the English fleet, which consisted of eight East India Company ships, four country ships (English merchantmen not owned

¹³ This friction between Captain Page and Samuel Snow, the supercargo, is confirmed by the statement of Martin Page, a cousin, and no admirer, of Benjamin. In a garrulous reminiscence written in his ninety-second year he gives an unflattering portrait of Benjamin Page. Martin declared that Page and Snow had an argument on the outward voyage about the proper cooking of a hogshead. Later at Canton they refused to communicate in any way, and *Ann and Hope* left Whampoa with some thirty to forty fewer tons of cargo than she could have carried. As *Ann and Hope* had some difficulty getting over the bars in the Pearl River because of her great weight this last statement is probably not so.

by the East India Company), two line of battle ships, *Intrepid*, 64 guns, *Arrogant*, 74 guns, and the frigate *La Virginie*, 40 guns, all under the command of Commodore Hargood, R.N., who flew his flag on *Intrepid* where Captain Page visited him to pay his respects and receive the Commodore's signals for the voyage.¹⁴

On Friday, 8 February, the Commodore signaled to get underway and the next day the fleet passed Macao Roads. On 10 February Carter noted: 'In company with the Fleet and we find our Ship, although out of trim being too much by the stern, able to keep up with them with little trouble and short sail.' *Jenny*, as usual, had difficulties but managed to keep up by carrying royals and topgallant sails. *Camilla* was even slower and was frequently out of sight. Two of *Ann and Hope's* guns were shifted forward and she then sailed and rode better.

During the passage of the Strait of Malacca, Dr. Carter was frequently called to *Jenny* to attend Captain Brown, the master, who was seriously ill. He had been treated in Macao by a Dutch physician and by the surgeon of *Intrepid*. Dr. Carter thought their regimen (mercury) far too severe and likely to kill Captain Brown, who, however, persisted in following the treatment despite Carter's advice. Finally on 5 March in a weakened condition Brown gave up mercury. Dr. Carter was irritated by the whole affair and wrote,

Considering the innumerable swarm of Physicians in our country, I think no ship ought to come such a voyage without bringing a person of some medical knowledge, and thereby prevent troubling other people. But our Countrymen have such contracted minds that they wish you to risk your life on their crazy bodies without having the generosity to pay you. I have been sent for a number of times aboard the *Jenny* but have not received a farthing nor do I ever expect to from him.

It is but fair to Dr. Carter to indicate that he made the trips to *Jenny* in a small boat; once he was caught in a squall and once he marveled that he was left unmolested by the piratical Malays, 'a people treacherous & cruel beyond all example.' The doctor had a low opinion of Malays; he observed that Sumatra and Malaya 'abound in gold and many other valuable articles which the Deity for some cause or other has lavished on the most depraved of mortals.'

On 7 March the fleet passed through the Strait of Malacca into the Indian Ocean south of the Nicobar Islands where *Ann and Hope* left the convoy, put on more sail and bore away for the Cape of Good Hope on a

¹⁴ Because of the danger from Malay pirates the British navy convoyed merchant vessels through the South China Sea and the Strait of Malacca. Captain Page presumably welcomed protection through these dangerous waters. *Ann and Hope* left the convoy south of the Nicobar Islands and proceeded alone.

course generally west by south. The long passage to the Cape was uneventful, the crew kept busy with 'sundry duties aboard ship' until on 17 April *Ann and Hope* ran into a spell of bad weather which lasted for about ten days. Dr. Carter wrote: 'I think this to have been the worst storm I ever beheld at sea. The violence of the wind and the agitation of the waves breaking over us was awful. Our ship being deep wallowed in the great seas and labored hard. Luckily for us the wind was aft or something serious might have taken place.'

Luck was still with *Ann and Hope* judging by the doctor's entry for 24 April.

It was very fortunate that we did not hawl up to the Northward last night as was contemplated. The Distance between the Sun and moon has been so great since the last observation as not to permit of our having a lunar for these several days, and the Chronometer having been suffered to run down at Canton is of no use. It is well known to most navigators that there is a rapid current setting to the W round the Cape of Good Hope; relying therefore on our dead reckoning the ship being supposed far to the Westward than what she really is induced the Capt. to hawl to the Northward too soon. Luckily for us the divine Providence ordered the event to take place in the Day time, otherwise we might have said finis. The *Doddington* a fine East Indiaman was lost in this manner. The current deceiving the master, the consequence was not only the loss of the ship, but the lives of several hundred men who were barbarously murdered by the Caffirs.

Ann and Hope continued in a westerly direction for three more days until Captain Page judged that the Cape of Good Hope had been cleared; then a course generally northwest was set. The tall masts used since *Ann and Hope* reached Australia were exchanged for the shorter ones best suited for the rugged Atlantic winds. For days at a time both logs and Journal note only the details of navigation as the ship sailed north and west into warmer latitudes.

The crew was kept busy; a coat of yellow paint was applied to the ship's sides, sails were mended, the jolly boat was caulked and, in general, *Ann and Hope* was policed to make a neat appearance on her homecoming. When the Equator was crossed daily gun drills were resumed.

The health of the crew was generally good except for Thomas Munro who had been out of his head, intermittently, for some time. Dr. Carter described the case.

He first complained of a swelling in his ancle. This suppurated and healed. A Head ache next seized him for which he took emetics, Andersons pills, was blistered in the back of the neck &c all with very little effect. He grows worse and worse and is now raving distracted. His conduct in Canton and since he left that place in my opinion is sufficient to prove him non compos mentis, even while he was engaged

in his bargains. I am sorry for this circumstance as it will affect many of our young men who lent him money which I expect they will be swindled out of. But bought wisdom is the best. This day Munro's property was examined and an inventory taken of it. A very proper proceeding.

A few days later he noted: 'Thos Monro as crazy as a bear.' He got steadily worse as the days passed.

He appears to settle into a complete idiotism. He has not the power of feeding himself or of doing any of the ordinary concerns of man. His station is between the mainmast and main hatch, where he is obliged to be handcuffed to prevent (his) casting off the rigging. A more pitiful object I never beheld, he is perfectly harmless and expressed no intention of harming anyone.

On the whole, however, the crew of *Ann and Hope* were fortunate to be in such good health, the surgeon believed.

On conversing with a medical gentleman in Canton, he gave it [as] his opinion that the climate was worse than last season and attended with more sickness among sailors at Canton and Whampoa than at Batavia in the Island of Java, a place well known in the East for the mortality that prevails there. Almost the whole of our crew were afflicted with the fever at Whampoa, as were the crews of the *Semiramis* and *Camilla* & other Ships. This Fever begins with a violent headache and pains in the bones, back & sides. The black man who died was seized with an ague fit and continued shuddering & shaking. He was very old and so much debilitated by the length of the passage & other causes as to be less capable of sustaining the shock than the young and vigorous. (Fortune Dennis, a cook, died three days after the *Ann and Hope* reached Whampoa.) Almost all had comatose symptoms & indeed the disorder seemed peculiarly to attack the head, producing vertigo, delerium &c. Some were stark mad and distracted, tearing off their clothes, stripping themselves naked and jumping into the river, nor could anything except confinement in bed prevent them from tearing everything to pieces. This fever was not of the continued kind but at intervals showed some remissions and yielded to bleeding, blisters on the head legs & neck, the Peruvian bark, Emetics, Calomel, Jalap, Glaubers Salts, nitre, Cremar, Tartar, Elixr vitriol & other tonic medicines and evacuates. Considering the number of threatening symptoms that accompanied this disorder our loss is small in comparison to what we might reasonably have expected. It gives me peculiar satisfaction to think that nothing was neglected that might in any degree contribute to their recovery. They have a most pernicious custom at Whampoa for Sailors, that is in making a place of entertainment of the Hoppo boats. These boats lay alongside the Ship, the mandarins live in them and watch the proceedings of the Ship, give chops or passes to the Ships boats, take care that nothing is smuggled from the Ship and that nothing comes on board without paying duties. But while the mandarins are enjoying their pipes in a room in the fore part of the boat, the Owner of the boat & his family entice the Sailors on board where they sell them Samsoo a most fiery spirit distilled from rice with which the sailors get intoxicated. This with sitting up late nights, eating heartily of oyster suppers, oranges, bananas, plantains, & various kinds of fruits and drinking the muddy waters of the river &

some other causes which might be named, added to the surprising mutability of the Climate, and hard labour by day all contribute to inflame the blood of Sailors and bring on Diseases. Their confined situation in the forecabin where 45 or 50 of them are huddled together, and breath a pestilential atmosphere no doubt contribute to foment and cherish the seeds of disorders which their intemperance engenders.

Ann and Hope saw several vessels but spoke none as she proceeded generally on a northwesterly course into the North Atlantic and approached the coastline of the United States. At half past four on the morning of Friday, 8 June, a sail sighted in the northeast proved to be that of a schooner which gave chase. *Ann and Hope* did not alter her course, but set all sail that would draw advantageously. It was a long pursuit but the schooner slowly gained ground and *Ann and Hope* was prepared for action. Spare sails and bedding were piled in the waist nettings for added protection. 'The schooner still in chase like an evil genius,' wrote the surgeon. At two P.M. the schooner opened fire with a bow gun and broke out English colors. The shot was fired just as a lunar observation was being made and the doctor commented, 'This so disturbed our astronomical reveries that we did not obtain the Sun and moons distance.' *Ann and Hope* returned the fire, one round coming very close to the pursuing vessel, and at this time showed her United States flag. Dr. Carter's account continues:

At 3 PM all hands were piped to quarters, every man stationed to his Gun, and got everything in order to engage, double shotted our Guns & primed them. Shot of various kinds viz: round and double headed, Grape and Language, razor and quarter, sliding quarter and Canister shot were distributed about deck, the marines with muskets were drawn up on the quarter deck. Boarding pikes, Cutlasses and pistols were delivered. Bars of iron were broken up to hurl at the audacious man who seemed as if soliciting his own destruction. In short nothing was omitted on our part that could contribute to the safety of the ship. We had twelve nine pounders doubly loaded with Round and Grape shot, already primed with matches burning ready to blow our enemy into eternity in a moment. Add to these a crew of between 60&70 men, young & vigorous most of them in the prime of life, full of spirits and determined to spill the last drop of their blood should the unfortunate man be so hardy as to attempt to board us.

The two vessels exchanged bow and stern shots at half-hourly intervals for about four hours, by which time the gap between the two had closed to hailing distance. The schooner hailed and enquired where *Ann and Hope* was from. Being told Canton, and asked in return, the schooner's captain replied Bermuda and bound on a cruise. In her effort

to establish English identity the schooner flew an English pennant, English flag and a Union Jack.

Dr. Carter, although quite uncomfortable, attempted to describe the encounter with something approaching theological detachment.

She was full of men, some of whom were seen pointing to our maintop, where we had four marines stationed with muskets. He looked like a Frenchman, but as we could not make him understand could get no information respecting the war. I make no doubt but this vessel would have taken us had she not seen our men stand firm to their guns with matches burning and every appearance of giving him a warm reception. The more I see of this wicked world the more I despise either its hatred or its friendship. If it were not for a few good people in the world, I believe the Deity in His wrath would once more destroy it. But for the merits of a chosen few, his long sufferance & forbearance ensures the villainy and baseness of millions.

My station this critical day was in the Gun room where I made every preparation for dressing the wounded. We had a great number of lanthorns lighted up with spermacettic candles, so that although the gun room ports and the after hatch were closed yet it was light as day. But the air being confined, and such a number of candles burning at once rendered our station very uncomfortable. I could compare it to nothing but the Black Hole of Calcutta. The sweat poured from us like rain, the thundering of cannon made a horrible noise overhead, but we endeavored to keep ourselves calm and cheerful. After being confined in the Gun room six hours in the greatest degree of heat I ever experienced & the most profuse perspiration, while my ears were stunned with the noise of the Cannon, the screaming of the Gun carriages, the jingling of broken windows & doors, & the noise of men and officers. I was at length relieved from this uncomfortable durance.

After this experience it is not surprising to find the notation in the next day's Journal: 'God grant that we may see Block Island in a few days. Out 122 days from Canton.'

As *Ann and Hope* approached the mainland the lookouts noted many sails. On 11 June a schooner from Rhode Island was hailed. 'She gave us the agreeable intelligence that France and America were not at war.' Observations and calculations were now made with meticulous care, and the neglect which allowed the chronometer to run down at Canton must have been roundly cursed. On 11 June two observations were taken. The first gave the ship's position as 68° 38' 30" West. 'This observation was worked with the greatest care but making us to the Eastward of where we were yesterday we were induced to take another.' The second observation placed the ship at 68° 38' 45". 'These two observations turning out so nearly alike, and differing so widely from those made yesterday incline us to suppose either that there is an error in the adjustment of the sextant or that we have been carried to the Eastward by the Gulph Stream

which is not improbable, as this morning the sea water was uncommonly warm.' The suspicion of being too far to the east was confirmed two days later, 13 June, when *Ann and Hope* spoke a sloop from Cape Cod and Captain Page was told that the South Shoal of Nantucket bore northeast at a distance of fifteen leagues. At this news course was changed and *Ann and Hope* bore away to the westward. At daybreak on 15 June land was sighted. 'At 5 kept her N by E, supposing the land to be the highland of Montaug. At 8 A.M. found our mistake, the land being Martha's Vineyard. Headed South hard by the wind. At 9 A.M. a pilot boat came alongside from No Man's Land. Took a pilot worked to the westward.' So ends the Journal. Two days before, in a reflective mood, Dr. Carter had well summarized the year-long voyage.

Drawing towards home now rapidly, it may not be amiss to take a review of our voyage: a voyage which for distance is seldom exceeded and for expedition perhaps never. On reflecting upon my own conduct it gives me pleasure that my conscience does not accuse me of any act of injustice or wilful intention of doing wrong. Considering the number of men we have had on board (66), the manner of life in which many of them have been brought up, numbers never having seen any hardship before, the length of time, the distance, the diversity of climate having crossed the Tropics four times, & the Equator four, sailing for many months in the torrid zone & from thence to the 46th degree of South Latitude & round the South Cape of New Holland, considering the accidents and dangers incident to a sea life as well as our exposure to the Savages of Botany Bay and numerous other dangers which are unforeseen and consequently cannot be guarded against; taking into consideration the want of water, fresh provisions and vegetables our Ships Crew have been miraculously preserved seeing they have lost but one man.

Doctor Carter did not greatly overstate the importance of the voyage. *Ann and Hope* had proved to be a splendid sailer in many waters and varied weather. She brought safely to Providence a valuable cargo, estimated for customs purposes at \$121,014.20. The satisfaction of the owners, the master and his crew can well be imagined.¹⁵

¹⁵ The subsequent history of *Ann and Hope* may be of interest. Her second voyage to Canton, following the route of the first, started on 8 August 1799; she again showed herself a fine sailer, making the landfall at Tasmania in ninety-one days. Christopher Bentley, the master, had been first mate on *Ann and Hope's* first voyage. On the second trip he discovered and located accurately some outlying islands in the Fiji Group. *Ann and Hope* carried pickled and dried skins and hard money with which to obtain a cargo in Canton. She arrived back in Providence on 15 August 1800 with a cargo of China products valued at \$212,000.

The third voyage was to Canton by way of London where *Ann and Hope* was sheathed in copper below the waterline. *Ann and Hope* departed Providence 24 December 1800 and arrived in London after a stormy passage on 2 February 1801 with a cargo of tobacco, coffee, sugar and flour. Thomas Thompson, the supercargo, reported that the only flour for sale in London in early February was that brought in *Ann and Hope*. In London *Ann and Hope* loaded cutlery, glassware, porter, beer, ale and broadcloths for China. The homeward cargo was the usual one of china, tea and fine cottons. She arrived in Providence on 7 April 1802.

On her last three voyages *Ann and Hope* was commanded by Thomas Laing. The fourth voyage to Batavia, Amsterdam and Cronstadt started on 20 May 1802. The cargo was mostly hard dollars,

BENJAMIN PAGE

Benjamin Page, a son of Ambrose and Alice Smith Page, was born on 22 March 1753, probably in Providence. This date, with others pertaining to the Page family, is found on the inside cover of *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* by Robert Barclay, the sixth edition, printed for James Franklin, Newport, Rhode Island, 1729, and now in the Rhode Island Historical Society's Library. Barclay's defense of the Quakers, rather than the family Bible, served as a repository for the vital statistics of the Page family. Ambrose Page, the father, was a Providence merchant and shipmaster who, at various times, was whole or part owner of seven small coasting vessels some of which were British prizes taken during the years 1782-1783. He shared the ownership of these vessels with Nicholas Brown, James Lovett, William Wall, William Earle, Henry Bower, and his son Benjamin Page, who, like his father, was to seek his fortune in the maritime trade.

We know nothing of Benjamin's early life or education. However, Ephraim Bowen's account of the burning of *Gaspee* on the night of 9-10 June 1772 mentions that 'one of his youthful companions' was Benjamin Page. In November 1775 when the Rhode Island Assembly authorized an additional regiment of five hundred 'for the defense of the united colonies in general and of this colony in particular,' it also appointed Benjamin Page as 'Captain of the 1st row gallery to be built'—*Washington* as it turned out. Page was later a lieutenant under Captain Whipple in the frigate *Providence* when she forced her way through the British fleet at the entrance to Narragansett Bay on 30 April 1778 bound for Nantes with dispatches relating to the new treaty with France.

Martin Page, a cousin, and himself a shipmaster for Brown and Ives, in his nineties expressed some unflattering opinions of his relative. 'Benjamin,' he wrote, 'was a proud self-conceited man that knew everything and other men knew nothing. He entered the Navy and was promoted to Lieutenant, and dressed in his uniform with stuffings in his stockings to swell the calfs of his legs, with starched-up hat he made a handsome appearance. He was at the burning of our ships in the Parnobscot River when chased in there by the English.'¹⁶

together with some fine Russian sheetings, duck and sailcloth. At Batavia a cargo of coffee and sugar was loaded and consigned to Brown and Ives' agents in Amsterdam, Daniel Crommelin & Sons. From Amsterdam *Ann and Hope* proceeded to Cronstadt and loaded sable iron, hemp, sailcloth and duck. The voyage home was completed on 19 September 1803. A fifth uneventful but profitable voyage to Batavia and return was completed in 1804.

The sixth and last voyage of *Ann and Hope* to Batavia, by way of Lisbon, started on 13 November 1804. *Ann and Hope* arrived off Lisbon in twenty-two days but was quarantined for forty days from her sailing. Taking aboard hard dollars, *Ann and Hope* departed Lisbon for Batavia where she arrived on 2 May 1805. Loaded with coffee, sugar and pepper, she sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on 9 June 1805. Encountering bad weather and springing a leak, *Ann and Hope* was put into the Isle of France for repairs which cost about \$20,000. After a delay of more than two months *Ann and Hope* sailed for home on 27 September 1805. A landfall was made at Hampton Heights, Long Island, on 10 January 1806 and a course set by Captain Laing for Block Island. Just before midnight, Block Island presumably having been safely cleared, a course was set for Newport light; in a few minutes, however, to the amazement of all, *Ann and Hope* grounded and broke up on the rocky reefs on the south shore of Block Island. The natives of the island bargained shrewdly and agreed to collect pepper, for twenty-five per cent of all recovered, and coffee for fifty cents the bushel. The wreck was sold by Captain Laing for \$393. Three of the crew were drowned and Brown and Ives lost a cargo valued at \$300,000.

¹⁶ This refers to an inglorious incident in U. S. naval history. On 14 August 1779 the American and British fleets were engaged off Bagaduce (Castine), Maine. The American vessels, in panic, fled up the Penobscot River, ran their ships aground, fired them and fled. Paulin, C. O., *The Navy of the American Revolution*.

After the Revolution Page returned to commercial shipping, and became master of the eighty-ton brigantine *Providence* which had been taken as a prize from the British in 1781 and purchased by John Brown who registered her in Providence in 1783. How long Page remained on *Providence* I do not know, but in the years 1792-1793 he commanded the 208-ton ship *Hope* of Providence owned by John Brown and John Francis on a memorable voyage to Australia and China. *Hope* on this voyage was the second United States vessel to enter the port of Sydney, New South Wales, being preceded, a month earlier, by *Philadelphia* of Philadelphia. In his *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* published in London in 1798, David Collins, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Marines and Secretary and Judge Advocate of the colony wrote:

About this time (1792) there anchored in the cove an American ship, the *Hope*, commanded by Mr. Benjamin Page, from Rhode Island, with a small cargo of provisions and spirits for sale. The cause of his putting into this harbour, the master declared, was for the purpose of procuring wood and water, of which he stated his ship to be much in want; thus making the sale of his cargo appear to be a secondary object to him.

As the colony had not yet seen the day when it could independently have said, 'We are not in want of provisions; procure your wood and water and go your way,' the lieutenant governor directed the commissary to purchase such part of his cargo as the colony stood in need of; and two hundred barrels of American cured beef, at four pounds per barrel; eighty barrels of pork at four pounds ten shillings per barrel; forty-four barrels of flour, at two pounds per barrel; seven thousand five hundred and ninety-seven gallons of (new American) spirits at four shillings and six pence per gallon, were purchased; amounting in all to the sum of 2957£. 6s. 6d.

This ship had touched at the Falkland Islands for the purpose of collecting skins from the different vessels employed in the seal trade from the United States of America, with which she was to proceed to the China market.¹⁷

On 10 January 1793 *Hope* departed for Canton carrying with her three time-expired convicts only one of whom was destined to set foot on the shores of Narragansett Bay.

Page's next command was the ship *Halcyon* of Providence in which he was part owner as a member of the firm of Clark, Nightingale, Megee and Page. *Halcyon* arrived in Sydney, New South Wales, on 14 June 1794, 114 days out of Providence. She was loaded with the same type of cargo previously carried by *Hope*—provisions and spirits. The colony was not in need of food at this time, but fortunately there were four ships in the harbor preparing for sea and to these ships William Megee, the supercargo, sold most of the provisions. All of the spirits were purchased by the officers of the New South Wales Corps, doubtless to supply the officers' mess. Megee was impressed by the agricultural possibilities of the colony and was gracious enough to declare that 'he had never seen better wheat in America, even in Rhode Island, the Garden of America.'

Collins' narrative continues:

July 1794. The signal for a sail was made at the Southhead in the morning of the 5th of July; and soon after the *Hope*, an American ship from Rhode Island, anchored in the Cove, having on board a cargo of salted provisions and spirits on speculation. The ship was here before with Captain Page, the commander of the *Halcyon*, and now came in the same employ, the house of Brown and Francis of Providence. Brown was the uncle of Page, between whom there being some mis-

¹⁷ Francis Grose, the Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales wished to purchase only the provisions on *Hope* but Captain Page insisted that the liquor be purchased or there would be no trade. *Historical Records of New South Wales*, II, 289.

understanding, Page built and freighted the *Halcyon* after the departure of the *Hope*, whose master being ordered to touch at the Falkland's Islands, Page determined to precede him in his arrival in this country and have the first of the market, in which he succeeded.¹⁸

This proved a great disappointment to the master of the *Hope* who indeed sold his spirits at three shillings and six pence per gallon; but his salted provisions no one would purchase.

Halcyon left Sydney on 8 July in company with the English storeship *Indispensable*, Captain Wilkinson.¹⁹ *Indispensable* was headed for Bengal and *Halcyon* for Canton but they appear to have kept company as far as the Solomons passing through the strait between Guadalcanal and San Cristobal and Malaita which is recorded on nineteenth-century English and on all modern charts as Indispensable Strait, but which Page named for himself and which was known, I believe, as Page's straits to a generation of American shipmasters. In addition Page named islands, capes and peaks for his partners, his Providence friends and his ship. The cargo from Canton was the usual one of teas, silks, nankeens and chinaware.

During the years 1796-1797 Page was master and part owner of the ship *Zenobia*, with a different set of partners: Clark, Nightingale, and Munro. The voyage to Canton was completed late in 1797. In the spring of 1798 Page entered the employ of Brown and Ives as master of their new ship *Ann and Hope*; on her he departed from Providence on 9 July 1798 for what was to be a highly successful voyage in which the good qualities of both ship and crew were tested. Following the return of *Ann and Hope* in July 1799 she was quickly made ready for sea and left Providence the next month for Canton with Christopher Bentley as master. Benjamin Page remained ashore, his third marriage being imminent and I find no record of his commanding ships again. He was part owner of two local ship, *Susan* and *Hazard*, with John Corliss and William Megee as partners.

Page was married three times: first to Esther Scaver on 30 January 1781; then to Nancy Sweeting on 10 November 1791; and finally to Sally Warner on 19 September 1799. His third wife was from the island of Rhode Island and in 1828 he was living in Portsmouth in the house where the British General Prescott was captured by Colonel Barton. According to Martin Page, Benjamin survived his third wife, sold the farm he had inherited from her, spent the proceeds, and, poor, joined one of his three sons in the West where he died in Jackson, Ohio, in November 1833.

SOURCES:

Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1798).

Providence Custom House Papers: Import Books, Entries and Clearances.

Ship Registers and Enrollments, Providence, Rhode Island, 1773-1939.

Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II.

¹⁸ Daniel and Dorcas (Harris) Smith of Providence had seven children. One of them, Sarah, married John Brown on 27 November 1760. Ambrose Page's second wife was Alice a sister of Sarah. She died on 13 March 1772 and is buried in the Smith family lot in the North Burial Grounds, Providence. Benjamin was a child of the marriage of Ambrose and Alice (Smith) Page.

¹⁹ Both *Halcyon* and *Indispensable* on the first day out found stowaway convicts. Captain Page wanted to make for Lord Howe's Island and put them ashore, but prevailing winds prevented this. Fortunately William Pitt's nephew Lord Camelford was a passenger on *Indispensable* and he declared that 'if there was to be any to do about it he was the man to answer for it.' One of the convicts became Lord Camelford's body servant; the other jumped ship at Canton. What became of Captain Page's stowaway is not known. *Historical Records of New South Wales*, II, 295-296.

CHRISTOPHER BENTLEY

Christopher Bentley, the first mate of *Ann and Hope* on her maiden voyage, was born in East Greenwich, Rhode Island, on 11 March 1754. During the Revolutionary War he was in command of the sloop *Dolphin* which on 4 February 1776 was captured by the British man-of-war *Portland*. He, with three others of the crew, was carried to Antigua in the West Indies. They were later transported to Nova Scotia and made their way home from there. In October 1771 Bentley, with the other three prisoners, petitioned the Rhode Island Assembly for wages and expenses growing out of their capture, and were allowed £55 19s 7d. In 1779 he was given command of the brigantine *Nancy*.

On 14 July 1782 he married Elizabeth Mumford of East Greenwich who died at Woodstock, Connecticut, on 24 July 1807. His second marriage was at Providence to Lydia Arnold, the daughter of Captain David Arnold, on 31 August 1808; she survived him dying at Providence on 11 August 1862.

It is a fair presumption that Christopher Bentley continued after the Revolution to make his living as a ship's officer on the many vessels which cleared Rhode Island ports for the West Indies, European ports or in the China trade. Providence customhouse records show that during the 1790's Christopher Bentley commanded a number of vessels owned by Welcome Arnold of Providence, his brother-in-law. In 1791 he was master of the brigantine *Harriot*, in the European trade, plying between Providence and Baltic seaports; in 1792 he commanded the ship *General Greene*; in 1794 he was master of the ship *Minerva*, also in the European trade. In 1795 Bentley changed owners and commanded the ship *Susan*, the property of John Corliss & Company on a voyage to Amsterdam. In 1796 he was master of *Union*, a ship owned by Butler, Wheaton and Jackson on a voyage to St. Petersburg and other Baltic ports.

He was first mate on *Ann and Hope* on her maiden voyage, and succeeded to the command on her second passage to Canton. En route he discovered and located accurately several islands hitherto unknown in the Fiji group. There are no further notations of his going to sea. He may have retired for a well deserved rest ashore. He died in Providence on 4 July 1818.

SOURCES:

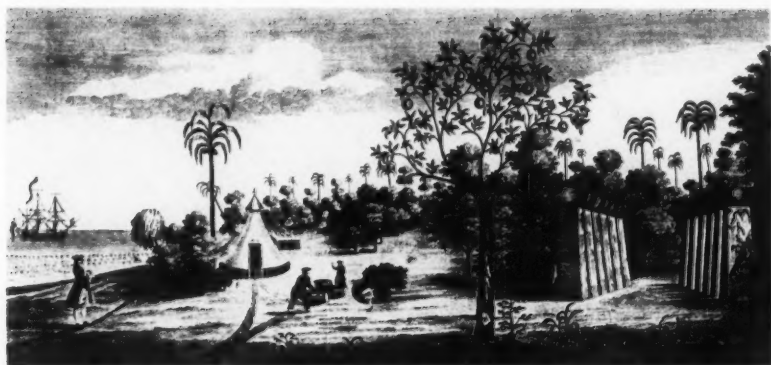
One Branch of the Bentley Family in Rhode Island; Ships' Registers & Enrollments, Providence, 1773-1939.

G. C. Henderson, *The Discoverers of the Fiji Islands* (London, 1933).

BENJAMIN TALLMAN

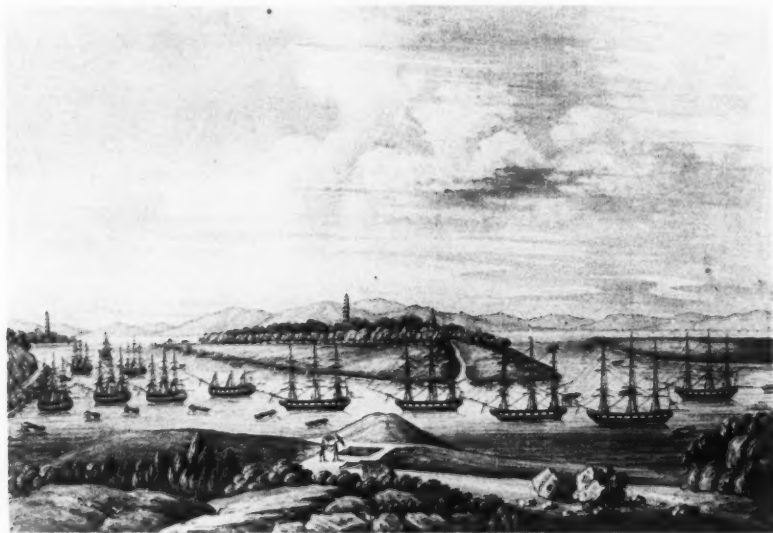
Benjamin Tallman, the builder of *Ann and Hope*, was born in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1741. He established himself as a shipbuilder in Providence, and was regarded as one of the most skillful naval architects of his times. He built about one hundred merchant vessels, some of them such as *Ann and Hope*, first and second, and *Washington* were of the largest class then being constructed.

In November 1775 Tallman was appointed Major in Colonel William Rich-



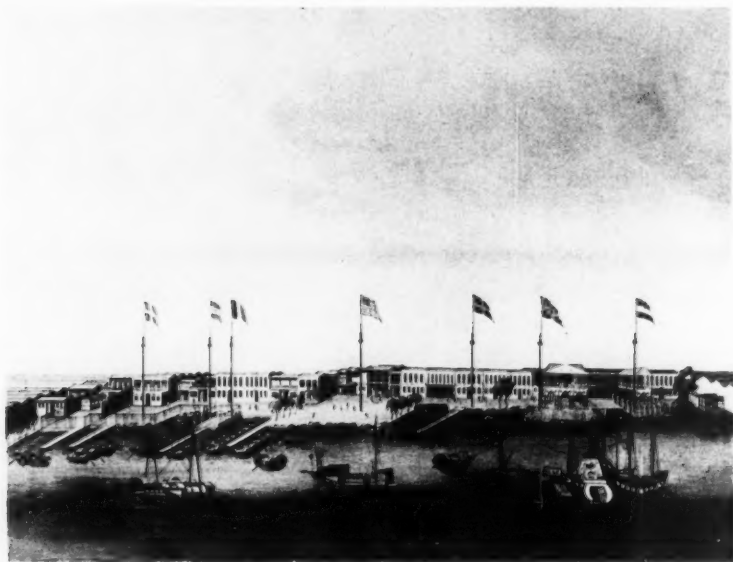
A view of the watering place at Tinian. The account of Tinian in Dr. Carter's Journal owes much to Lord Anson's account of his visit there in 1740. Captain Page sent a watering party from *Ann and Hope* to fill their casks at Lord Anson's Well.

From Hawkesworth's Voyages (London, 1773).
 Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library



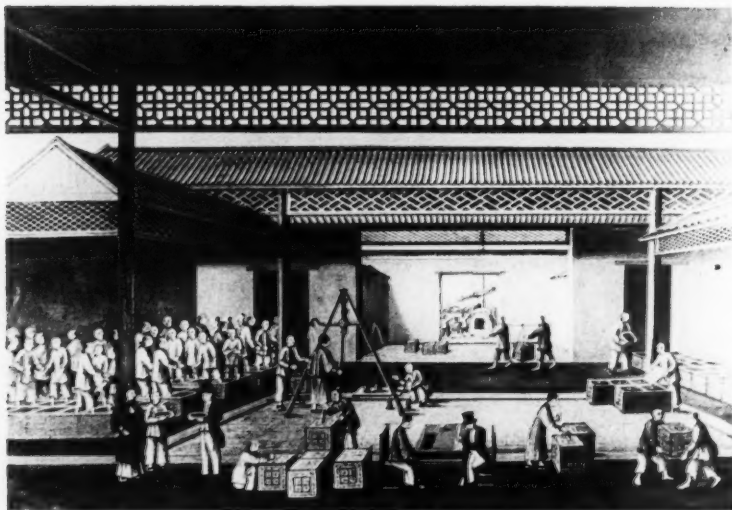
Whampoa Reach below Canton

Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem



The Factories at Canton, about 1800

Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem



A Hong counting room, Canton. It was in a room of this sort that the supercargo negotiated with Chinese merchants for cargo.

Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem

mond's regiment of Rhode Island infantry; with this unit he fought at the battle of Long Island where he was wounded. He later held commissions of Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel in two other Rhode Island regiments.

At the instigation of agents of the government Tallman, while still holding his commission as Colonel, went to Connecticut where he supervised the construction of the ship of war *Confederacy*. In Providence Tallman also built the frigate *Warren* which was launched on 24 May 1776. *Warren* was later commanded by Commodore Hopkins.

In 1812 Colonel Tallman raised a volunteer company for the defense of Providence. After his retirement from business he lived for many years in his home on Eddy Street, Providence, where he died on 10 June 1836 aged ninety-five. The notice of his death declared that he was 'Universally respected for soundness of judgment, integrity of character, and moral worth as a citizen.'

SOURCE:

Mechanics Festival, An Account of the Seventy-first Anniversary of the Providence Association of Merchants and Mechanics, Providence, 1860.

SAMUEL SNOW

Samuel Snow, the supercargo of *Ann and Hope* on her maiden voyage, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on 10 August 1758, the son of Joseph and Rebecca (Grant) Snow. His father was for fifty years, beginning in 1743, the pastor of the Beneficent Congregational Church. At the outbreak of the Revolution Samuel Snow was an undergraduate at Brown University, but on 10 December 1776 he accepted a commission as Third Lieutenant in Elliott's Regiment of Rhode Island Artillery. He was twice promoted in that unit before he transferred to the First Rhode Island Regiment of Continental Infantry in 1780. In September of that year he returned to Brown and was graduated A.B. with the class of 1782. He later earned, or was granted, an M.A. He married, while still an undergraduate, Frances, the daughter of Captain Peter and Elizabeth (Gardiner) Wanton. He was supercargo and had tonnage privileges on the Brown and Ives ship *John Jay* in 1795-1796. Snow's sister, Rebecca, had married Captain James Munro, a merchant and shipmaster. Samuel Snow joined his brother-in-law in the firm of Munro, Snow and Munro and had shares in such company ventures as the schooner *Olive Branch*, 1798, the ship *Patterson*, 1800, and the brigantines *Industry*, 1802, and *Hope*, 1804. In 1798 he had an interest in the ship *Zenobia* with Clark, Nightingale and Megee, and in 1801 the firm was associated with Brown and Ives in the ownership of the schooner *Venelia*. Most of these ventures were in the China trade.

In 1798 Snow was the supercargo on the outward passage of *Ann and Hope*. For his services he received \$8,000, a stateroom, eight tons privileges and an additional ten tons from Canton at the rate of \$80 per ton. Snow did not return to Providence on *Ann and Hope* as he had been appointed by President Adams as United States Consul at Canton, a post he retained until relieved by Edward Carrington in 1802 at which time he returned to Providence. Captain Snow was an original member of

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the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati and at one time its secretary. He died in Providence on 17 May 1838.

SOURCE:

The William Snow Family, edited by E. H. Snow (Providence, R. I., 1908).

BENJAMIN BOWEN CARTER

Benjamin Bowen Carter, whose *Journal of the maiden voyage of Ann and Hope* is so satisfyingly circumstantial, was making his first voyage as a ship's surgeon. He was born in Providence on 16 December 1771, the second of twelve children and the eldest son of John Carter, the printer, patriot, and publisher of the *Providence Gazette*. Benjamin Carter entered Brown University at the age of eleven and was graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in 1786. He was a classmate and later the brother-in-law of Nicholas Brown. In 1789 he was granted a Master of Arts degree. In September of that year Jonathan Maxcy wrote to Carter from Wrentham: 'You inform me in your last that you think of studying Physics. If it pleases you you will excel in it and as you have a good opportunity to study it, I think you had better employ it.' Carter actually enrolled at the Medical College at Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, in the fall of 1789 where he studied under Benjamin Rush, William Shippen, James Hutchinson, and Caspar Wistar. In the Brown University Archives is *Doctor Carter's Diagnosis, Prescription and Treatment Book* printed, by the way, by his father. The dates and addresses therein show that Carter left Philadelphia in the summer of 1792 and later in that year commenced practice in Woodstock, North Parish, Windham County, Connecticut. His correspondence indicates that he found life dull in rural Connecticut and moved to Charleston, South Carolina, and later to Savannah, Georgia; in both of these cities he practiced briefly.

In 1798 Doctor Carter returned to Providence and signed on as the surgeon of the ship *Ann and Hope* at \$17 per month and with one ton cargo privilege. This tonnage privilege was increased on later voyages, and the profits which accrued from the trading thus made possible enabled him to build what his aged father described as a 'handsome competency.' Nicholas Brown in his instructions to Captain Page urged that the captain be helpful to 'our brother-in-law and Friend.' Doctor Carter kept a full and meticulous journal; he set out, apparently, to familiarize himself with ship's navigation, and he worked out *Ann and Hope's* positions in great detail during the early weeks of the voyage. His nonprofessional observations are keen, but, at times, self-consciously 'cultured.'

Doctor Carter remained on *Ann and Hope* as surgeon for four voyages; three of these were to Canton, and the fourth to Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. The second voyage has particular interest as Captain Christopher Bentley, who had succeeded Benjamin Page as master, discovered and accurately located some islands in the Fiji group; and once again the ship exchanged shots with French and British privateers. The third voyage, again to Canton, was by way of England where *Ann and Hope* was sheathed in copper. The fourth voyage was notable for a mutiny of the

crew in Batavia, Dutch East Indies, and a protracted stay in Amsterdam before proceeding to Cronstadt; this stay permitted the inquiring surgeon to visit the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. During the winter and spring of 1803-1804 Carter remained ashore visiting friends in Philadelphia and New York. On 12 July 1804 he sailed from Providence on the Brown and Ives ship *Asia* for Canton where he arrived on 10 December 1804. Here he lived for fourteen months with Edward Carrington who had succeeded Samuel Snow as United States Consul in 1802.

Doctor Carter seems to have occupied himself profitably practicing medicine among the European colony, investing \$16,000 in Chinese goods for export to his agents in Europe and America, and making a serious and apparently successful effort to learn the Chinese language. Under date of 24 June 1844 John Carter Brown wrote on a blank page of the *Dictionary Sinicum*, now in the Brown University Archives: 'This book belonged to my maternal uncle Doctor Benjamin Bowen Carter, a graduate of B. U. Class of 1786. Doctor Carter was a fine linguist, and particularly versed in Oriental languages and literature.' Doctor Carter was taught the Chinese language by a Chinese seminarian of the Jesuit College at Peking, whose Europeanized name was Abel Xavierius. The instruction was carried on in Latin. Xavierius transcribed the Chinese-Latin dictionary of some 15,000 characters now in the Brown Library. The doctor seems to have been on very good terms with the Hong merchants and in a letter from Providence to his brother Carter in Canton, some years later, he recalls with pleasure his days in China and asks to be remembered to several of them. On one occasion his knowledge of Chinese was most useful to Edward Carrington in framing a letter to the Chinese government.

Doctor Carter returned to Providence in February 1806, and departed for England the following year in the ship *Robert Burns*. He remained abroad eleven years studying at Cambridge and attending lectures at Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals in London. His correspondence indicates that he may have aided in the editing of Joseph Fox's work on anatomy, and family tradition credits him with having been an early contributor to the *Quarterly Review* when edited by William Gifford. Because of the Napoleonic war being waged on the continent Doctor Carter spent most of his time in England. His correspondence indicates that he numbered among his associates Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society and the botanist of Cook's voyages, Sir Astley Cooper, the surgeon and lecturer at St. Thomas's Hospital, Henry Cline also a surgeon, and Doctor Charles Burney, the organist.

Following Waterloo Doctor Carter visited the continent and lived for more than a year in Paris where he made the acquaintance of Abbé Jean Pierre Abel Remusat, the orientalist, with whom he corresponded for many years. In July 1818 Carter returned to New York where he lived for the rest of his life, devoting himself to his linguistic studies. He seems to have been a natural linguist and early in life knew Latin, Greek, French, German, Dutch and Chinese. In later years he studied Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, Hindustani and Armenian. How great was his competence in these Semitic languages is undetermined. His letters refer to mathematical studies and manuscripts but no search to date has turned up these items.

Doctor Carter was, judged by the tone of his letters, a rabid Federalist, especially

in his later years, and his 'abhorrence of demagogism at times led him to the opposite extreme of something like contempt or distrust of popular opinion.' He died in New York on 24 April 1831 and was buried in Providence three days later.

SOURCES:

Correspondence of Benjamin B. Carter in the Rhode Island Historical Society, Ann Mary Brown Library, Brown University Archives.

The Danforth Family, the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Brown Papers, The John Carter Brown Library Logs of *Ann and Hope*.

The John Carter Brown Library and the Rhode Island Historical Society.

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Captain Crowninshield Brings Home an Elephant

BY ROBERT AND GALE McCLUNG

IN December 1794, when Captain Jacob Crowninshield sailed his ship out of the harbor of Salem, Massachusetts, for Calcutta, no one knew—except possibly Crowninshield himself—that he would bring back the first elephant ever to be seen in America.

Although only twenty-four years old, Crowninshield was a veteran mariner, and had already made several voyages to India. He had gone to sea when still a boy, and by 1790 commanded his first vessel, the schooner *Active*. One of five brothers, he was associated with them and his father in the family firm of George Crowninshield and Sons. The Crowninshields were known far and wide as one of the great sailing families of Salem—a city that was world-famous in the last years of the eighteenth century for her ships and seamen.

Just several weeks before Jacob set out, his brothers George and John had also sailed for India in command of *Belisarius*, a spanking new ship which had just been completed for the Crowninshields by the famous shipbuilder, Briggs. Jacob, however, did not sail for the family firm on this trip, but for another prominent Salem merchant and shipowner, Elias Hasket Derby. Jacob's younger brother Ben was also aboard when they set out on the long voyage to the other side of the world.

By the summer of 1795 they had reached Port Louis on the Isle of France, now known as Mauritius. There young Captain Crowninshield sold the ship that had brought him from Salem, and bought a newer and heavier vessel which he named *America*. In those days, shipowners gave their captains a great deal of freedom in their business transactions on extended voyages—even to the buying and selling of the ships that carried them. Sailing northward in the new vessel, Crowninshield reached Calcutta in the fall, and there bought the elephant as his own personal 'adventure' or speculation.

Crowninshield apparently had not planned to buy an elephant, but when the opportunity presented itself, it had seemed like a logical invest-

ment. Many different types of entertainment were flourishing in the lusty young United States, and the exhibition of animals was one of them. Since no one had ever brought an elephant to the New World, Crowninshield figured that he would have no trouble selling the beast for a good profit.

After the unusual purchase had been completed, he wrote about it on 2 November 1795 to his brothers on *Belisarius*:

We take home a fine young elephant two years old, at \$450. It is almost as large as a very large ox, and I dare say we shall get it home safe, if so it will bring at least \$5000. We shall at first be obliged to keep it in the southern states until it becomes hardened to the climate. I suppose you will laugh at the scheme, but I do not mind that, will turn elephant driver. We have plenty of water at the Cape and St. Helena. This was my plan. Ben did not come into it, so if it succeeds, I ought to have the whole credit and honor, too. Of course you know it will be a great thing to carry the first elephant to America.

Captain Jacob was obviously very concerned about his water supply, and properly so. He wrote about it again three weeks later, saying: 'I suppose I shall have to stop at Mauritius for water, or the Cape or St. Helena though we have 3500 gallons.'

Crowninshield had planned to sail as soon as the elephant was brought aboard, but the ship was detained for a week by customs officials, who charged that there was forbidden saltpeter and rice aboard. At that time American vessels were constantly being confronted with such difficulties in their trade. France and England were at war, and neither of them was satisfied with America's avowed position of neutrality. They had some reason to be unhappy, for American vessels often made large profits for their owners in a sort of two-faced arrangement whereby, when carrying French goods, or goods for France, they sought French protection; and when carrying English or Empire goods, they sought British protection.

This sort of business required a lot of chance-taking, but it was lucrative, and considered worth-while. Both the British and French were antagonized by it, however, and both countries inflicted obstacles to American shipping, such as embargoes, detainments at various ports, confiscation of cargoes, and outright seizure of ships. The delay of *America* in leaving Calcutta was undoubtedly due to this unsettled state of world affairs. The uncertainty of getting a full cargo may have been one of the reasons Crowninshield decided to buy an elephant in the first place. Perhaps the warring powers would not object to such a load!

America finally left port on 3 December 1795, carrying a cargo of coffee, Indian textiles, and other products—as well as the elephant. The log of the homeward voyage was kept by the second in command, Mate Nathan-

iel Hathorne, destined to be the father of the famous writer, who later added the 'w' to the name. Mate Hathorne was a serious, silent, and reserved young man who wrote his log entries in a neat and flowing script, and at times waxed almost literary and poetic. On the first day out he recorded that *America*, with 'all sails set to the best advantage,' made eighty-six miles. Thereafter she often made between a hundred and a hundred and fifty miles daily.

Sailing southwest through the Indian Ocean, *America* reached Port Louis on the Isle of France a little over a month after leaving Calcutta. The Americans found the island, which was a refuge for the French during and after their Revolution, alive with rumors. The British government in India was said to be planning an expedition against them, and the French feared that Port Louis might be blocked—especially since they had only three frigates, and these were all out on patrol. Such a blockade would be a severe loss to the islanders, for Port Louis was an active trade center for Eastern commerce. In spite of these worries, Captain Crowninshield, as he later related in the *New York Argus*, found the island to be 'in the greatest tranquillity and perfect state of defense. Provisions of all kinds were cheaper than at any time since the war, but produce was very scarce and dear. The American ships could not procure half cargoes, and were going to Europe almost in ballast.'

After leaving Port Louis, *America* encountered a number of electrical storms, with lots of thunder and lightning, and lost several sails in high winds. Mate Hathorne made no mention of the elephant's condition during this part of the voyage, but did note, rather sanctimoniously, that on 17 January the crew had foregone the opportunity to catch great quantities of fish because it was a Sunday.

Bypassing the Cape of Good Hope, where the British were permitting Danish and Swedish ships to trade—but not American—Crowninshield proceeded to St. Helena, where *America* dropped anchor on 16 February. The next day the crew took in twenty-four casks of water. Fresh water was a constant concern, for the elephant alone could drink daily as much water as all the crew combined. They also, Hathorne recorded, 'Took aboard pumpkins and cabbage, fresh fish for ship's use and greens for the Elephant.' 18 February: 'Sailed—trying to catch the ship "John" of Salem—saw lots of flying fish.'

Five days later Ascension Island was sighted, and Hathorne marveled at the large numbers of sea birds he saw: 'Man O War birds, gannets, boobies, Egg birds.' Some of the crew went ashore and caught a number of birds and turtles, and saw a large sea lion on the beach.

On 10 March, with three months of almost continuous sailing behind them, Hathorne wrote: 'This night we saw the North Star, which I think is a great pleasure to a homeward bound Mariner after a long voyage to India.' Onward sailed *America* through the pleasant Caribbean. They were on the last lap of their voyage, and with luck, another two weeks should see *America* and her cargo safe in New York. It was an anxious time for Crowninshield, however, for this part of the seven seas was particularly thick with French privateers and British men-of-war.

On 29 March—a hundred and fifteen days after they had left Calcutta—four strange sails were sighted. The crew of *America* watched with growing concern as the strange ships hove about and stood toward them. 'At 6 P.M.,' the log relates, 'the headmost of the ships brought us too and sent her boat aboard of us. She was *Lynx*, English Frigate of 26 guns. Other ships were (ship-of-the-line) of 76 guns, the *Resolution*; the *Cleopatra* of 32 guns and the Brigantine *Bermuda* of 16 guns. Cruising on the Bermuda Station. Our Captain went aboard the *Lynx*, then the big ship. They examined the ship's papers, they let captain come aboard his own ship and the *Lynx* came aboard us and examined all our people and let us go about our business.'

Crowninshield must have heaved a sigh of relief when the search party departed at last, leaving his cargo and crew intact. He probably had a good laugh, too, at the reactions of the British to his strange passenger. The last thing in the world that the officers of the Royal Navy would expect to find aboard was an elephant!

The southern shores of Long Island were sighted on 11 April. It had been more than sixteen months since the crew had last seen American soil, but now the long voyage was almost over. On into New York's Lower Bay *America* sailed, and through the Narrows. Ahead lay Manhattan Island, its great harbor alive with ships from all over the world. New York was a bustling city of some 45,000, with most of its buildings and business activities jammed into the lower tip of Manhattan. It was still mostly open country north of Grand Street, and across the East River in Brooklyn.

As soon as *America* docked, the news that she had brought back a live elephant spread rapidly along the water front, and on 18 April the *New York Argus* reported:

The *America* has brought home an elephant from Bengal, in perfect health. It is the first ever seen in America, and a very great curiosity. It is a female, two years old, and of the species that grow to an enormous size. This animal is sold for \$10,000, being supposed to be the greatest price ever given for an animal in Europe or America.

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Crowninshield, a true Yankee trader, had cleared a profit of \$9,550 on his original \$450 investment!

For all his hopes that he would receive honor and credit, as well, for bringing the first elephant to America, Crowninshield's name was never mentioned in the advertising for the beast during the next few years while it was traveling throughout the United States.

But Crowninshield was to achieve a measure of renown in other activities. In 1802, six years after he had brought the elephant from Bengal, he was elected to Congress, where he rendered outstanding service. He was known far and wide for his enlightened views and for his broad knowledge of marine and commercial matters. During Jefferson's administration he was offered the post of Secretary of the Navy, but had to decline on account of ill health. His brother Benjamin, who had accompanied him to Bengal when he got the elephant, later filled the post under President Madison.

Having accumulated riches and honor in the service of his country, Salem, and himself, Jacob Crowninshield died an untimely death in Washington on 20 May 1808.

PARTIAL LIST OF SOURCES

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Mr. McClung is a freelance author and illustrator, with twelve published natural history books for children. A graduate of Princeton University, with a Master's degree from Cornell, he was formerly Curator of Mammals and Birds at New York's Bronx Zoo. At the present time he is finishing an adventure story for boys based on the travels of the Crowninshield elephant in America. Mrs. McClung, a graduate of Mount Holyoke, has been co-author with her husband of various magazine articles. Together, they are working on a book about the history of animal exhibits in America. They live in Harrison, New York, and have two sons.

Cushing in Shokokon

BY GERSHOM BRADFORD

WHAT a vessel to send on the Wilmington blockade—a New York Harbor ferryboat elevated to the rank of naval gunboat! Admittedly it was an experiment to test her value on that hostile lee shore. Nevertheless, she had two favorable points, shoal draft and fair speed. Admiral S. P. Lee needed craft that could work well inshore and with enough speed to overtake a blockade runner. But *Shokokon* failed in both these hopes; the sound of her paddle wheels revealed her presence in the dark and the runners outran her.

She was fitted out at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1863. Her armament consisted of a thirty-two-pound Parrott rifle forward and aft; two twenty-four-pound howitzers in the starboard broadside and two to port. She was manned by 120 officers and men. When the ship, then at Norfolk, received orders to proceed to the blockade, it was rumored that her volunteer commanding officer demurred. If true, he, as a seaman was prudent, but as an officer in time of war, he was indiscreet. At any rate there was a switch; the captain and two officers of *Commodore Barney* came to *Shokokon* and her captain and two officers replaced them in *Barney*.

The new captain was William Barker Cushing, a regular line lieutenant, twenty-one years old. He was tall, straight, slight build, complexion pale, with an expression and a light in his eyes that was so striking as to set him apart in a group. He came to *Shokokon* with a remarkable record of heroism and achievement already behind him. The ship's new duty in no way daunted him. Yet he doubted that she would live through a heavy gale. As he said himself that he 'was going to find out,' consoling himself with the philosophy that '... there's ground at the bottom.' The morale of the whole ship tautened under his reorganization, discipline and inspiration.

Cushing's story reads like fiction. Briefly, he was of New England ancestry and appointed to the Naval Academy in 1857. There, though standing well in all important subjects, he, as a persistent skylarker, be-

gan the collection of an imposing number of demerits. As a first classman his conduct had forced him out to the end of a yardarm, so to speak, when, after an offense more humorous than serious, he found it expedient to let go with his resignation dated 23 March 1861. His record then carried the note, 'Aptitude for naval service: not good.'

Thus adrift the late midshipman found himself in the hands of good and influential friends. Either directly or indirectly his mother's cousin Commodore Joseph Smith, U.S.N., the famous Lieutenant Flusser, and General Benjamin F. Butler, impressed Assistant Secretary Gustavus Fox favorably concerning the young man's value to the war just beginning. Very soon Cushing was on the lowest rung of the ladder of officer personnel, an acting volunteer master's mate. He immediately headed into active service with a zeal that would have pleased Marryat's Captain Wilson.

The reports of his commanding officers soon, apparently, led the Department to the conclusion that a bold exuberance, while of necessity to be restrained at the Academy, could, and had, produced gratifying results in the face of the enemy. He was promptly brought into the regular establishment with a commission as midshipman. This, however, was only held briefly for new achievements led to promotions that came one, two, three, and he was a lieutenant at 19 years of age, the youngest. By the time he assumed command of *Shokokon* on 4 August 1863, he had had a musket ball through his cap that cut the hair from his scalp and buckshot had riddled his underwear, yet no blood—so close had he been to the enemy.

This account of Cushing's cruise in *Shokokon* is largely taken from notes left by the late Laurence Bradford, an acting master's mate serving in that vessel. He was Cushing's own age but had already rounded Cape Horn four times. Mr. Bradford always insisted that Cushing instead of being rash and merely lucky, as some of his contemporaries charged, planned his movements with care and was extraordinarily resourceful when they were disrupted.

On the fifth of August *Shokokon* got under way, dropped down the river from Norfolk and anchored in Hampton Roads; on the sixth she hauled alongside the frigate *Brandywine*, took in stores and sailed for Beaufort, North Carolina, arriving on the eighth. There they coaled ship on Sunday the ninth, sailing for the blockade on the tenth.

The gunboat hove to off New Topsail Inlet and sent two boats ashore to reconnoiter. A schooner was discovered loading. The ship was attacked by artillery on the shore and the fire was returned; no damage resulted to either side. The next week was spent on the inshore patrol during which

two runners outdistanced the gunboat and her shots fell short. In one instance they came within the long range of the guns of Fort Fisher.

It was the routine of the runners, fast propeller vessels, to improve the opportunities of dark nights. Those using the favored northern entrance to Cape Fear River would leave the shelter of Fort Fisher's guns, slipping northward hugging the beach to give a background for their light gray paint, striking for sea at the first favorable chance. Successful in breaking through the inshore line they were obliged to elude the second patrol and then the outer cruisers that roved at will. The highly skilled pilots of these runners reaped a rich reward when they successfully ran the blockade. The ships were strictly unarmed, officers being careful not even to have a pistol. The great object was to get out the cotton to bolster the credit of the Confederacy in London. Inbound the procedure of the pilots was more or less in reverse. It was *Shokokon's* duty, with others, to intercept them while close in on the beach.

Early on the morning of 18 August all hands were called to quarters. A fine inbound runner was sighted beached about eight miles northward of Fort Fisher. She proved to be the twin-screw steamer *Hebe*. On 14 May she had sailed from London with a valuable cargo for Nassau, including 400 cases of Enfield rifles. It is quite probable that she had run the blockade in the meantime. Evidently seeing *Shokokon* close in between her and the fort with the gunboat *Niphon* closing in, her master made a quick decision and beached her.

Niphon arrived first and with two boats in the water was attempting to get a line aboard to haul her off. *Shokokon* lowered a boat but the sea was beginning to run too high to accomplish the purpose. It was running too heavy for *Niphon's* boat crews to return and were stranded on the wreck. When Cushing's boat returned (having saved two of *Niphon's* men) the crew wanted to make another try, but he would not allow it. This is an interesting point of prudent restraint by a man who strongly believed in calculated risks. His judgment proved good. *Niphon* lowered her last boat in a desperate effort to save her men. The boat was swamped and those not drowned were seen to be taken prisoner as they came out of the surf; those on board the runner were no doubt soon in the hands of the enemy.

By this time the wind had reached a gale and a battery of field pieces with a company of infantry had arrived from the fort. The battery was concealed behind a sand ridge upon which the blockaders opened with shrapnel, but the sharpshooters were troublesome; fortunately the heavy rolling of the ships disturbed their aim.

The shells from *Shokokon's* Parrott guns for some reason turned upon

leaving the muzzle rendering them useless at this time and the work was done with the howitzers. Master's mate Bradford was in charge of those forward, port and starboard, and finding his gun captain unable to make effective shots, began to lay the guns himself. He felt a little uneasy as to the propriety of so doing. This was quickly dispelled when shortly he saw Captain Cushing come down from the hurricane deck and similarly take over the after howitzers. The ship was turned in circles, firing when on the inshore side, loading and cooling the guns while on the outside. To somewhat protect the men at the guns the ports were closed except when the guns were actually firing.

At length the weather made it imperative to haul off and the two gunboats concentrated their shells to set her afire. Several times the seas extinguished the flames but a good shot abaft the funnel set her ablaze about noon. Although this action went on for upwards of four hours the fire from the battery was high only striking *Shokokon* a few times with no damage, she was however marked up by musket bullets.

This was all a minor affair but at least it was a novelty—a harbor ferryboat on a lee shore in a rough sea and gale of wind, engaging a shore battery of Whitworth rifles, within musket-shot range of sharpshooters, a junior officer serving the forward guns while the captain was laying those aft.

They hauled offshore and anchored near *Minnesota* with two anchors and all the chain. She rode it out very well although many aboard gave up hope during the night.

On occasion, when the night was dull and the patrol tedious, Cushing would stir things up by steering in towards the fort, apparently just to alert his own crew and annoy the garrison. Once in range he would let go a thirty-pound Parrott shell. The responding fire from the English Armstrong rifles readily reached the vicinity of *Shokokon* as she paddled rapidly away, but hampered by poor light they never made their mark.

One morning at daylight a runner appeared with flags flying defiantly near Fort Fisher. Cushing couldn't stand that and signaled the flagship, 'Request permission to cut her out.' The reply was quick in coming, 'No.' Cushing, by his own say so, was not averse to disobeying orders when quite sure of success, but not in plain view of Admiral Lee who was very indulgent, giving him much freedom of action.

The ship had been up to Beaufort to coal just after *Hebe* was forced ashore and was returning to the blockade. Cushing anchored a little above Topsail Inlet and organized a clever attack on some salt works and the schooner *Alexander Cooper*. About twenty men, in two boats, landed in the

dark carrying a dinghy across the beach to the sound within. One officer and six men rowing down took a howitzer's crew and the schooner by surprise. All were destroyed and prisoners taken—no casualties. This was just a minor incident that shows the careful planning of Cushing and his craving for action.

Upon rejoining the blockade, units of the fleet were observed to be shelling the battery protecting the wreck of *Hebe*, the remains of whose cargo the Confederates were attempting to salvage. *Shokokon* with her light draft ran close in raking the battery with grape and canister. At length Cushing becoming impatient asked for permission to land. His request was not granted. As his impatience mounted at getting nowhere he decided to act. Two boats were manned by twenty volunteers, landing on the lee side of the wreck they stormed and took the two rifled pieces, one a Whitworth 'not long out of England.'

One day while anchored among the fleet, Captain Cushing returned from the flagship bringing a man who was a captured pilot. This man had expressed a desire to enter Federal service! The blockading forces needed such a man, acquainted with the best channels, current ways of the runners and the meaning of the signals set at the fort to aid their entrance and exit. Cushing intuitively distrusted the man's intentions. Perhaps this was why Admiral Lee had assigned him to the perspicacity of his favorite junior commander.

The pilot assumed indolence, yet half asleep he kept better track of the ship's position than the navigators with all their care. The captain admonished the officers to be on their guard, not to trust him and not to allow him to escape. The pilot, when the captain was not on deck, gave courses and distances, maintaining his drowsy manner. These courses always proved correct. In the wardroom he was a pleasant and congenial shipmate. It was singular, however, that on no night while he was aboard was a runner sighted.

On those occasions when Cushing cruised close in on propitious nights to intercept a runner, the pilot lost his apparent ennui becoming highly nervous and alert. In case of capture it might have taken too long to explain his position. One night the captain boldly worked in nearer to the fort than usual, drifting with the current to prevent the paddle wheels from revealing his presence. He anchored with a kedge, much to the consternation of the pilot. The vessel was close enough to see the outer works of the fort, a dangerous but advantageous position to await a runner. In fact activity about the works ashore indicated that *Shokokon* had been sighted and mistaken for one. The deception only lasted for a few minutes

for the clouds broke away and the moon revealed her identity. The hawser was cut and with full speed and good luck she escaped damage from the shells that fell around her.

Subsequent to this experience the pilot seemed to have had his fill of sailing with Cushing; or, had he all the information he wanted? He seized the first opportunity to depart. This came shortly when the vessel put into Beaufort for coal. The captain was ashore when the persuasive pilot explained his need of a pair of shoes to an irresponsible O.O.D. From this simple errand he did not return. When the captain came aboard and learned of the pilot's escape he was angered and dismayed—'After all my cautions, to have let him go.'

We learn more of this illusive mariner from a report of Commander Pierce Crosby, U.S.N., commanding U.S.S. *Florida* dated on 11 February 1864. He captured a blockade runner called *Fanny and Jenny*. Her captain and some others were drowned, but the pilot named Burrows [Burroughs] escaped safely to the shore. From the description given Captain Crosby he imagined him 'the same man we took on a previous occasion; was appointed a pilot and deserted from the *Shokokon*.'

On 27 August the wind began to blow from the northeast. The fleet scattered, some to sea, some got out their sheet anchors and steaming ahead, rode it out. But *Shokokon* was not designed to anchor in such seas, her only hope being to trash off in the face of the gale, gain the point of the far-extending Frying Pan Shoals and round to in their partial lee. Here, indeed, was a seaman's nightmare—driving a paddle-wheel ferry-boat to windward in an Atlantic gale. The crew of *Shokokon* from the captain down set themselves to the grim task of weathering the shoals or be lost.

As their lives depended on the engines, the chief, his assistants and men stripped down and turned to working like heroes. As the ship rolled in the sea one paddle wheel would whirl in the air, then the other, perhaps both, coming up with a shock as they again struck the water. The gain was slow, and due to high freeboard with light draft, the leeway was a matter of concern. The weight of the battery forward caused the vessel's overhanging bow to strike with great force on the downward pitch. Serious damage resulted which allowed water to get below faster than the capacity of the pumps. Cushing at times left the bridge in charge of the executive officer to give encouragement below.

By good seamanship on the bridge, easing the ship through the seas to relieve the collapsing bow as much as possible, to cut leeway and gain slowly offshore, while below, the gallant work of the engineers, all at

length brought the vessel to the end of the shoals. Yet by that time they had been forced down into broken water where with some more heart-pounding minutes she at last worked clear, bore away before the wind and rounded to; they anchored in relatively smooth water in the lee of the shoals. With heavy water off the deck the pumps were able to keep her afloat though she was leaking at the rate of 450 gallons a minute.

There were few aboard *Shokokon* during the previous hours who ever expected to see the dawn of another day. Even the redoubtable commander acknowledged the closeness of the call. When Cushing made such an admission the margin was small indeed. Later he wrote: 'We were caught in a very heavy northeast gale and were nearly lost—sponsons were knocked away, decks raised and boiler wrenched from the hull by the storm. It was close work and quite experiment enough.' His official report to Admiral Lee shows even more damage. He states that her seams were opened, forward ports carried away, rudderpost split and 'when struck by a sea she seemed to give like india rubber.'

Shokokon was surveyed the next day, condemned for blockade duty and ordered to Baltimore for repairs. Lieutenant Cushing was there detached and proceeded on to larger service and the 'thanks of Congress.'

Laurence Bradford, the master's mate, held Cushing in such respect that he was moved to remark in his notes that, as a practiced seaman, he could not believe otherwise than that 'an unseen power was near the gunboat that day . . . to preserve that one life for future service to the country.' And one is led to feel that there was substance for his belief. Cushing seemed selected to survive the war.

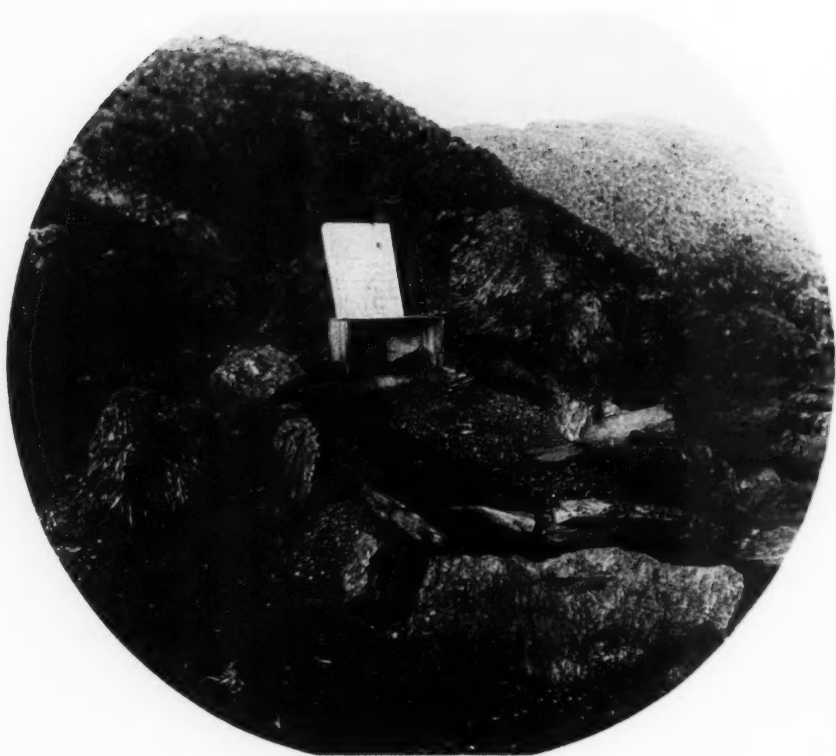
He led numerous boat sorties within enemy lines largely originated and planned on his own initiative. When one thinks of the close quarters he was in so often it is almost unbelievable that he was never wounded, except for a slight abrasion on a finger by a bullet as he pulled the detonation cord that blew up the ironclad *Albemarle* in 1864. Yet in this attack his coat at the small of his back was carried away by buskshot, the sole of his shoe was shot away and bullets plowed through his clothing. His subsequent escape through the swamps, hunted for ten days, was a miracle—strange immunity!

In this connection it is worthy of notice that Lieutenant Cushing was a religious young man. In writing to his mother he once told her, 'I am not what the world calls a Christian, but I do believe implicitly in God's power and goodness . . . often I feel as held in the hand of God.'

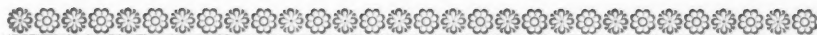
Gershom Bradford of Duxbury, Massachusetts, has been a contributor to NEPTUNE for many years and is well known to our readers.



Lieutenant William Barker Cushing, U.S.N.
Courtesy of Gershom Bradford



The lonely grave of Ansel L. Thomes on Gonzalo Island from a photograph taken by Captain Edgar K. Thompson. (See Notes)



From River Clyde to Unimak Pass: Ship Star of Falkland

PART II

BY HAROLD HUYCKE

Hardly a ship came to the west coast that didn't take a load of Chilean 'saltpetre,' going down to her marks, and *Steinbek* was no exception. On the second day of loading a total of 2,030 sacks was loaded, but it appears that within the following days the rate soon slowed down to a smaller daily quantity. Work was slow, and in that land there was no work on Sunday nor the numerous holidays that spotted the calendar.

August and September passed. October entered and still *Steinbek* rolled in the eternal swells that came to Antofagasta's harbor. Finally, on 24 October, the last bag was stowed and the last empty lighter towed away. For three and a half months *Steinbek* had lain at anchor, and then a seaman, Karl Meyer, ran away. He was soon replaced and the new fo'c'sle hand helped get the ship ready for sea. Early in the morning of 27 October *Steinbek* hove up her anchor and put to sea, bound round Cape Horn for Hamburg.

Twenty-four days brought the ship to fifty south; six days later she passed Diego Ramirez and in another six days the fiftieth parallel in the Atlantic was crossed. Twelve days 'rounding the Horn' eastbound was better than thirty-five days going to the west'ard! New Year's Day 1911 found *Steinbek* near the Equator and on the next day she crossed the line in 29-20 west. Forty-three days later, early in the morning of 14 February, the ship's lookout picked up the blink of Bishop's Rock light, the outpost of the British Isles and the first of many lights that marked the Channel.

Steinbek made slow progress through the Channel, and it wasn't until 6 A.M. of the sixteenth that she passed Beachy Head. Early in the afternoon the East Goodwin lightship was passed abeam and the deep-loaded full-rigger entered the North Sea. Visibility was not the best and Captain Koch navigated with the aid of a sounding lead across the banks, making

his approach to the entrance to the Elbe River. Helgoland Island light was picked up and left on the quarter in the evening of the nineteenth. This was getting close to home waters and within hours the pilot was on board and a tug engaged.

Steinbek towed up the Elbe River to Hamburg with no delay and arrived at her home port at 5 A.M., 20 February, 115 days out of Antofagasta. Thus, her first round voyage under the German flag took a year and forty-two days, a little over four months of which were spent in port. This compares poorly with the performances of the famous Flying P liners of Laeisz which came close to making two round voyages in the same period of time.

It may be of interest to compare a few outward passages of the famous P ships, sailing about the same time. Captain Becker in the ship *Parchim* passed the Lizard on 22 March, over a month after *Steinbek* cleared the Channel, and arrived at Valparaiso seventy-eight days out. Captain Wist in the ship *Peiho* passed the Lizard on 16 April and took the same time out to Valparaiso. This ship took only nine days to round the Horn, against *Steinbek's* thirty-five days. Captain Wiemer took the ship *Pirna* out in seventy-five days and rounded the Horn in only eleven days. Sailing about four and a half months after *Steinbek*, Captain Allwardt took the four-mast bark *Pommern* out to Valparaiso in only seventy days, doubling the Horn, fifty south to fifty south in eighteen days. It is true that Antofagasta lies farther to the north on the Chilean coast, about 570 miles in a straight line, and some allowance should be made for the shorter distance the Laeisz ships were required to sail for an arrival. But with this differential being allowed for, it can be seen that *Steinbek* was no match for the crack nitrate carriers of Herr Laeisz. Furthermore, Laeisz had efficient representation along the west coast which made a specialty of turning the ships around and sending them home quickly. Such a combination provided for profitable operation of sailing ships.

For her second voyage under the German flag, Captain Koch began loading his big ship with coke and general cargo for Santa Rosalia, Mexico. The copper mines of Compagnie du Boleo, a French-owned mining and smelting company, were located in the hills behind Santa Rosalia, a small coastal town located in the Gulf of California on the eastern shore of the peninsula of Lower California. Hard by the harbor itself was the company's smelter. Though owned in Paris, the company's supplies of coke were largely supplied by German sailing ships with an occasional British ship as a frequent caller.

Bringing cargoes of coke and briquettes to this Pacific port spotted

the sailing ship of those years in a position which was not altogether unfavorable, though there was no outward cargo to be had from this port. As mentioned earlier, the shipowner could seek a charter to load grain or lumber in the Pacific Northwest, sailing to San Francisco, the Columbia River or Puget Sound in ballast; or he could order his ship in ballast to Newcastle, New South Wales for a coal cargo for delivery along the Chilean or Peruvian coast; or he could dispatch his ship direct to the nitrate ports of northern Chile for a load and then home to north Europe.

Knohr and Burchard kept their ships steadily employed in this system of voyages, and their large fleet of ships, barks, and four-mast barks were frequent visitors to the Pacific Northwest in the fifteen years prior to World War I.

Early in April 1911, Captain Koch took the towline of a tug and moved out through the Hamburg shipping into the Elbe and down river toward the North Sea. Clearing the approaches to the river, he set sail and made fine progress through the Channel, passing Prawle Point on 10 April. Within twenty-seven days he was on the line; on 20 June crossing fifty south in the Atlantic, and on 13 July coming up across that parallel on the Pacific side. This was better than the previous voyage, though it was again winter in that hemisphere. Fair luck stayed with *Steinbek*, which crossed the line on 2 August. Twenty-three days later she arrived at Santa Rosalia, 137 days out, and anchored off the port. Here she lay for over two months discharging her cargo and awaiting orders for her next passage and cargo.

Santa Rosalia was not a favorite port of sailormen for a number of reasons. In the summertime the heat was oppressive, with little relief coming from the warm breeze which blew across the Gulf. Were it not for the deposits of copper ore then being dug and smelted for export, there would be little else to sustain a population of Europeans and Mexicans. The native Indians would be undisturbed. The mining towns were appropriately named 'Inferno,' 'Purgatorio' and 'Soledad,' offering nothing to the deepwater sailor in the way of entertainment or consolation. It was desert country in which only thorns and hardy bushes survived. The peak of 'Las Virgenes,' a dead volcano which lay some twenty miles to the north, broke the monotony of one's gaze along the scorched mesas.

For many years during earlier operations of Santa Rosalia's mines and smelter, ships anchored in the open roadstead and discharged their cargoes into lighters, which were then towed to a mole inshore and in turn discharged into cars destined for the smelter. Sailors worked their own ships, there being no longshoremen in that place. After the turn of the

century a breakwater was built and, during the years when *Steinbek* called there, limited berth space was provided inside the breakwater.

Santa Rosalia may not have been a pleasant place, but it was a busy one. It has been said that every ten days during the years before World War I, a ship sailed from north Europe for this sun-baked port in the Gulf of California.

Back in Hamburg, Knohr and Burchard fixed *Steinbek* to load a cargo of grain at Portland, Oregon, and cabled Captain Koch to proceed to the Columbia River. *Steinbek* sailed from Santa Rosalia on 31 October and worked slowly out of the Gulf into the broader reaches of the Pacific. Only twenty-six days were needed to bring her to the Columbia River lightship and within a couple of days she was moored to one of Portland's grain wharves and began loading.

The year 1912 ran out, and as the year ended the last bag of grain was swung into the hold and stowed away. On 3 January 1912 *Steinbek* was taken in tow and departed down river, proceeding directly to sea, crossing out over the bar on the fourth. Four weeks later she was on the line, and by 20 April had crossed into the northern hemisphere in the Atlantic. On 29 May *Steinbek* anchored in Falmouth Harbor, 147 days from Portland and awaited orders to proceed to her discharge port. After a two-day wait, she was ordered to Dunkirk and sailed to the French port in five days.

The consignees of the grain were not long in receiving their cargo, and seventeen days were all that was required to discharge the ship. *Steinbek* left the French port in ballast and towed around to Hamburg. At the entrance to the Elbe the tugs *Vulcan* and *Diomedes* made fast and took the ship to her berth in the great seaport.

This round voyage, the second for Knohr and Burchard, kept *Steinbek* away from her home port for a period of about a year and three months. Captain Koch turned over his command of the ship to the young Captain Johannes Wohlers.

Once again *Steinbek* was loaded with a cargo of coke and some general cargo and went to a draft of 20 feet forward and 21 feet 05 inches aft. On 19 July 1912 the tugs *Fairplay XI* and *Fairplay VI* came alongside to shift the loaded ship into the stream. The next day, ready for sea, *Steinbek* towed into the North Sea and set sail once again for Santa Rosalia. At 4 A.M. on the twenty-second Terschelling Island, off the Dutch coast, was passed abeam; two days later she passed South Goodwin lightship and into the narrow confines of Dover Strait and the English Channel. Captain Wohlers favored the English coast, passing Beachy Head light ten

miles off at 10:30 A.M. on the twenty-fifth. Within three days *Steinbek* left Start Point abaft her starboard beam. Hardly had the *Lizard* been dropped astern when the light, fair winds that had helped the ship down the Channel left her and west winds welcomed her into the North Atlantic. After tacking against this for awhile, *Steinbek* gained sea room and settled down for the run to the line.

One month from Start Point brought the ship to the Equator, crossing in 24 west; on 23 September she was in 50 south and 64-50 west. As the ship approached Staten Island on 29 September she was struck by a hurricane from the southwest which drove her back to her position of the twenty-third, a loss of six days' sailing. But a little better luck came her way, and on 7 October she passed the longitude of the Horn and five days later crossed 50 south in the Pacific, in 81 west.

On 3 November she was on the line, crossing in 104 west, and within three weeks came in sight of Cape San Lucas off the southern tip of Lower California. Here *Steinbek* encountered calms delaying her progress. Though she was within 260 miles of her destination, two calm and windless weeks were to pass before she came to anchor off Santa Rosalia. At 2:30 P.M., Sunday, 8 December 1912, *Steinbek* anchored to forty-five fathoms of cable, 141 days from Hamburg.

Amongst the shipping that lay in the anchorage on her arrival was the British ship *British Isles*.

Within a day or two the crew of *Steinbek* commenced discharging the coke, a labor that consumed the balance of the year and until 16 January 1913. A total of 2,421 tons of coke and 754 tons of briquettes, all consigned to Cie. du Boleo, was discharged. Six days later Captain Wohlers received orders to proceed to Portland to load grain. Within four days of the receipt of his orders, the anchors were hove up and sail set. *Steinbek* was off Cape San Lucas on 29 January, and a month later sighted the Columbia River lightship and Tillamook Rock light, getting a good navigational fix for a safe arrival and approach to the shifting bar at the river's mouth. By noon of 28 February, the day of arrival, Captain Wohlers anchored off Astoria; the next day the stern-wheeler *Ocklahama* came alongside, took charge of the ship and started up the river to Portland's grain wharves.

Steinbek was in port twenty-four days, loading grain for Europe, and on 25 March she was again maneuvered away from the wharf, into the stream and down the long river by *Ocklahama*. Spring floods filled the river so a second tug was hired to help control the deeply loaded full-rigger.

While in Portland, as the loading neared completion, Captain Wohlers secured the services of a boardinghouse master to provide a crew, and beginning on the twenty-second of March a total of nine seamen were delivered to the ship. It may be of interest to see who they were and how they left the town of Portland with a 'dead horse' to work off.

Able Seaman Carl Nilsen was the first to be escorted to the ship, and on 22 March was directed to sign the ship's log, acknowledging the fact that his 'advance' of \$25, a month's wages for an A.B., was to go to the boardinghouse master for a kit of slops and services rendered. Thereafter the following seamen reported to the ship, and were, for the most part, contracted to the ship with a month's wages to work off before the voyage began:

22 March	Harold Berg	Ordinary Seaman,	\$20.00 per month,	Advance \$20.00
22 March	Richard Howard	Ord. Seaman	, \$20.00 per month,	Advance \$20.00
23 March	O. Walker	Able Seaman	, \$25.00 per month,	Advance \$25.00
23 March	J. Edwards	Ordinary Seaman,	\$20.00 per month,	Advance \$20.00
24 March	W. Clark —	Able Seaman	, \$25.00 per month,	Advance \$25.00
24 March	A. Petersen	Able Seaman	, \$25.00 per month,	Advance \$ 7.00
24 March	J. Bergqvist	Ordinary Seaman,	\$20.00 per month,	Advance \$20.00
24 March	Peder Halvorson	Ordinary Seaman,	\$20.00 per month,	Advance \$20.00
Total Advanced				\$182.00

With no further delay at Astoria, *Steinbek* towed over the bar to sea and set sail for the passage to Queenstown, for orders.

On 25 April she crossed the line, in 122 west. On 28 May the ship crossed 50 south in longitude 95 west, the wind from the southwest and fair, though *Steinbek's* day's runs seldom exceeded 200 miles per day. On 30 May she covered 212 miles by observation, the wind increasing to gale force. This was the Cape Horn region and near the middle of winter. *Steinbek* had been this way before many times during the previous twenty years.

On the night of the thirtieth the ship ran along under shortened sail, the wind increasing to hurricane force from the south-sou'west. *Steinbek* was laboring heavily in the growing seas while Captain Wohlers noted the barometer to be falling quickly, then steadying and rising a little. In the higher latitudes of the Horn region, daylight hours were short. It was with some relief that the cold crew watched the blackness of the long night turn into the gray of dawn.

About 9 A.M. on the thirty-first, while the wind raged at the deep-loaded ship, a heavy sea lumbered along toward the ship and struck her along the starboard bulwarks in the way of the foremast. The force was

such that the whole bulwark gave way and with the first thunderous crash of the sea on deck, three beams in the number one hatch broke. But the tarpaulins held and kept the worst of the sea out of the hold. As soon as the tons of water poured off the decks the crew immediately saw that they were in mortal danger of losing the ship through that breached cargo hatch. There were few if any spare pieces of timbers, so 160 feet of spare deck planking were hauled out of storage and lashed across the hatch. The fact that the damage was caused during daylight hours probably meant that the ship's crew had the chance to immediately ascertain their predicament and set about remedying it. It could not have been so in the pitch dark of night.

New coils of line were broken out. Forty fathoms of $3\frac{3}{4}$ -inch hemp and three coils of manila were used in battening down the damaged hatch. This was all the crew could handle at the moment, and as soon as it could be done, Captain Wohlers hove the ship to and put over oil in bags to keep the crests of the seas down. It was impossible to determine what other damage, if any, the ship had suffered, but apparently the other two hatches held.

The last day of May passed with the ship hove to and the hurricane pounding her in a fury. The next day came and went. Finally on the second of June the wind abated considerably, and with the use of storm oil on the waters, *Steinbek* passed the crisis. The damaged hatch was opened and three broken beams taken out. Three 'pitch-pine' beams were placed and while the carpenter was busy fitting these into place, snow squalls set in, cutting down visibility and wetting the grain cargo. Finally the hatch covers were put into place, and the carpenter caulked them to watertightness and the tarpaulins replaced.

Within five days *Steinbek* passed the longitude of the Horn, and on 16 June crossed 50 south in the Atlantic in 51 west. On 9 July she crossed the line in 28 west and on 14 August approached the south coast of Ireland. The next day she arrived off Cork and received orders to discharge there. *Steinbek* was towed into the harbor, 142 days from Astoria.

It took the Irish longshoremen about six weeks to discharge *Steinbek's* grain cargo. On 29 September she sailed from Passage West for Hamburg, making a fairly quick run through the Channel, picking up the pilot off the Elbe River five days later, arriving in Hamburg on 5 October. Little time was lost in putting the ship on loading berth.

In less than three weeks she was down to her deepest draft with a cargo of coke and briquettes for Cie. du Boleo's mines and smelter in Santa Rosalia. Drawing 20 feet forward and 21 feet 06 inches aft, *Steinbek*

towed to sea on 28 October with a total cargo of 3,460 tons, 2,460 tons of which were coke. At 2:30 P.M. the same afternoon Mr. Thomsen, the mate, let go an anchor off Cuxhaven, while the ship lay in the stream overnight to get ready for sea. The next day she towed out and set sail for the Pacific port.

The young Captain Wohlers unknowingly looked for the last time upon his native Germany. And though the ship *Steinbek* of Hamburg was to fly the German colors from her gaff for more than three years yet to come, she never again called in the Elbe River. World War I was nearly a year off, but many thousands of miles of ocean would be covered by the ship before these same rolling waters that she left astern would swallow thousands upon thousands of tons of Allied shipping and witness a period of sea warfare that lasted for over four years.

On 7 November 1913 *Steinbek* passed Start Point, and was on the line in 27 west twenty-two days later. Another month passed and she crossed into the Cape Horn region, south of the fiftieth parallel and close to the Patagonia coast. Captain Wohlers brought his ship to the longitude of the Horn on 4 January 1914, sixty-seven days out of Hamburg. Six days later the ship crossed fifty south in the Pacific, taking twelve days to make the rounding, which was fair enough time. The line was reached on 13 February, 107 days out of Hamburg; not fast time but all that might be expected of *Steinbek*, now in her twenty-second year. The position of 7 March found her in the Gulf of California with Cape San Lucas on her port quarter. Inevitable calms bedeviled her for the best part of two weeks before she arrived off the anchorage grounds of Santa Rosalia. The passage out took 142 days.

During the balance of March, part of April and all of May, *Steinbek's* crew discharged the coke and briquettes into rail cars of the du Boleo smelter. Long before the end of the work, Captain Wohlers received orders from his owners to proceed to Puget Sound. Shipping intelligence on the coast reported on 4 April that *Steinbek* had been chartered by Comyn, Mackall of San Francisco to load a full cargo of lumber in the Columbia River or Puget Sound for Liverpool, at a rate of 58/9 per thousand feet. This was considered 'a very low rate.' At the same time the British steamer *Strathairly*, then located somewhere in the far reaches of the Pacific, was chartered by the Robert Dollar Company to load lumber in some North Pacific port for China.

Ballasted with slag from the smelter, *Steinbek* sailed from Santa Rosalia on 17 May, having been ordered to Puget Sound. It is doubtful that Captain Wohlers and his crew suspected anything but normalcy for the

balance of the ship's voyage to Puget Sound and home to Europe. Though the capitals of Europe had hummed for several years previously with the business of international diplomacy, the pattern for world-wide war had not yet been completed, nor had the spark been lit prior to the time *Steinbek* and her sister ships numbering into the dozens had sailed from north Europe in the course of their normal commerce.

Within the period of two months following *Steinbek*'s sailing from the Lower California port, twelve large German sailing ships, amongst others, arrived with cargoes like that of *Steinbek*. And they were all making their last voyages for their German owners. Knohr and Burchard had sent out *Lasbek*, *Dalbek*, *Reinbek*, *Thielbek*, *Wandsbek* and *Schurbek*. *Dalbek* and *Steinbek* were far enough along in their voyage that they were able to depart from the Gulf for the Pacific Northwest; *Dalbek* arrived off the Columbia River in the summer.

On 27 June the tug *Goliah* came out from the confines of Neah Bay behind Cape Flattery and by 9 A.M. had taken *Steinbek* in tow for Port Townsend. Cape Flattery was abeam at 2 P.M. and twelve hours later the tug brought her charge into Port Townsend harbor, then the Port of Entry. In the afternoon of 28 June the ship was cleared by customs, quarantine and allowed to proceed to Seattle, this time in tow of the deep-water tug *Pioneer*. The quarantine instructions handed to Captain Wohlers by Mr. L. T. Seavey read:

'Acting under authority of Bureau Letter F AD, LEC of 9 August 1912, I have to direct in writing that while your vessel is lying at any United States port you will have all lines or hawsers leading to shore protected by efficient rat guards, and all gang planks raised at night unless men be placed nearby to destroy escaping rats. Vessels lying at wharf at Seattle must fend off four feet. These you must agree to carefully attend to before pratique can be granted.' To which Captain Wohlers agreed by affixing his signature, though he may have wondered at the time what breed of hardy rat would still be aboard the coke-carrying *Steinbek* just in from the smoking and desolate confines of the Gulf's Santa Rosalia.

The tow from Port Townsend to Seattle began at 3 P.M. on the afternoon of 28 June. A few hours of daylight, and then came the cool Puget Sound summer night. The pilot and tug captain had charge of the ship, though Captain Wohlers likely kept an experienced eye on both as they maneuvered his empty ship through the channels and by the dark, wooded shores toward the lights of Elliot Bay. It would be good to rest easily on the poop for a few hours. No sails to watch, nor a course to check—

only the driving thump of the tug's powerful wheel eating up the miles of dark water. Captain Wohlers and his crew probably enjoyed these few hours of comparative calm before the ship arrived at Seattle and was invaded by surveyors, agents and port officials. The next day would be busy enough. The passage at sea was behind them.

But before morning the Seattle newspapers would be in the streets with the news that even while *Steinbek* was towing down the Straits that same day, Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria had been assassinated at Sarajevo. It was probably some time before the events of that day were fully understood by the crew of *Steinbek*, or what the results would mean for their ship and themselves.

On the morning of 29 June the surveyor for Comyn, Mackall came aboard for an examination of the ship, and the ship was taken to moorings where part of her ballast was discharged. A period of sixteen days was spent in Seattle before *Steinbek* was taken in tow for the port of Bellingham, it having been arranged that Bloedel, Donovan Lumber Company of that port would give her a full cargo of lumber for Liverpool.

The tug *Tyee* took her in tow on 16 July and delivered her to the Bloedel Donovan dock in Bellingham late that evening. Shortly after mooring to the big lumber company's dock, the cargo was delivered alongside and loading began. Because the cargo consisted largely of long timbers for dock construction in Liverpool, two stern ports were cut in her transom, on each side of the rudder post and below the location of the cabin. A couple of 'tween-deck beams were also cut in order to stow the big timbers, but they were bolted back into place.

A week of work had been accomplished by 23 July. That day the Austro-Hungarian government presented Serbia an ultimatum, the terms of which were harsh and crushing. The reply by the smaller country was not conducive to peaceful relations, and the other powers of Europe lined up behind each, and began a feverish preparation for war. On 28 July Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia; five days later Germany and France were at war, and on 5 August Britain entered the war against Germany upon the latter's invasion of Belgium.

Events had moved swiftly toward the end of July. That the import of deteriorating relations had not immediately reached the various ships of all belligerents, especially those of Germany, is evidenced by the fact that close to 150 sailing ships, to say nothing of steamers were away from home waters, and that scarcely a dozen deepwater windjammers were in safe home ports.

On 30 July the British steamer *Strathairly* tied up to the Bloedel Dono-

van dock and began loading for Australia. Being in a neutral port, these two ships of enemy nations were obliged to maintain peace and quiet between themselves. According to the Peace Tribunal at The Hague, merchant ships were to be permitted to sail unmolested by warring nations, provided they did not carry contraband. While this fine point was being discussed in theory prior to the end of July, the loading of the German full-rigger and the British steamer proceeded peacefully. But Lloyd's took a more practical step and announced that no insurance was to be issued on ships bound for Europe as long as difficulties existed.

Steinbek was about half loaded when Britain and Germany declared war, and it soon became obvious that while British ships would find their movements relatively unrestricted, *Steinbek* would not be able to clear the Sound in safety, to say nothing of sailing the length of the Pacific Ocean, then the Atlantic Ocean and into home waters. The Canadians were co-belligerents of their British cousins, and suddenly the war frontier expanded to the Straits of Juan de Fuca where Canadian warships carried on patrol. In Tacoma the Hamburg-American Line steamer *Saxonia* was well along in her loading for a voyage to the Orient. She, too, became a virtual prisoner of this blockade, and soon her owners ordered her to discharge the cargo and remain in neutral waters until further notice.

If Captain Wohlers accepted the fact that he was destined to a long period of being blocked up in United States waters, he showed little evidence of it. Comyn, Mackall ordered the mill to stop delivering lumber to the ship. Captain Wohlers, in return, demanded one hundred dollars per day demurrage while his ship was idle, but this was to no avail. If the shipper was willing to break the charter party, one which covered shipment of a cargo of lumber at a 'very low rate,' it would seem that Captain Wohlers would have been better off to agree to this. He then could have been in a position to have his ship chartered at a higher rate, more in keeping with the troubled times—to say nothing of keeping his ship from delivering a cargo to his nation's enemy. But he must have known that he could not have fulfilled the terms of any new charters, to say nothing of completing the voyage for which he was now loading.

Bloedel Donovan ordered Captain Wohlers to allow discharge of the timbers already loaded. In time this was done, though he ignored their further orders to move his ship from the lumber dock. The timbers were reloaded into a British steamer, reported to be *Boveric* of the Bank Line.

On 12 August Captain Wohlers went to Seattle to see the German consul, taking with him the names of the reservists in his crew. At the

time of his visit, the German cruisers *Nuremberg* and *Leipzig* were reported to be in eastern Pacific waters and rumors were rife that part of *Steinbek's* crew would be dispatched to join those warships. *Nuremberg* had sailed from Honolulu on 28 July, ostensibly for German Samoa, but her movements were obscured thereafter. *Leipzig* was last reported off the coast of Lower California.

On 17 August *Leipzig* entered San Francisco to get some badly needed bunkers and, according to the laws of war at the time, would be allowed only twenty-four hours to complete her bunkering. She went to battleship row, near Mare Island, and took in as much coal as she could load in the short time allowed. An American pilot joined the warship on sailing and conned her through the channels of the Bay toward the open sea. Off the San Francisco waterfront she approached the British bark *Lord Templetown*, which was then anchored off the north shore. The cruiser altered her course only a little to clear the bark, but not quite enough. A glancing blow was struck, and the sailing ship's yards raked the warship's radio antennae. The procedure of peacetime in such an incident was ignored and the cruiser kept on her way, though the American pilot was still on the bridge, assisting. It was believed that a little of the cruiser's hull below the waterline was damaged, but there was no time to stop and investigate. The twenty-four-hour deadline was nearly up. *Leipzig* would have to take her chances at sea, which would be somewhat lessened if, indeed, her radio had been crippled. Somewhere out there was *Nuremberg*, and it was also reported at the time that the French cruiser *Montcalm* was 'lurking off the Farallones.'

Whatever hopes *Steinbek's* reservists might have had to join a fighting ship of their navy, they ended on the departure of *Leipzig* from San Francisco. Neutrality regulations, which were then adhered to by the neutrals and belligerents, permitted *Leipzig* to take only enough coal to get the ship to Apia, German Samoa. She could not return to San Francisco within three months unless she called at a German port in the meantime. All of which was practically impossible. Further rumors had it that the mates and reservists from *Steinbek* would be sent to New York and then home to Germany by way of neutral routes. But this plan was not effected.

Before *Strathairly* sailed from Bellingham in August 1914 a local incident nearly ruptured the peaceful calm that otherwise pervaded that neutral port. At the time when both ships were lying at the same lumber dock, a large log was delivered to the mill and left lying on some nearby tidal flats. It was much too large to bring into the mill in one piece. The

mill superintendent hired a man to blast the log into halves, making it easier to handle. The man was instructed to perform the operation about midnight when there wouldn't be anyone around to get hurt. This he did, but instead of using stumping powder for his job, he drilled four holes in the log and set off four sticks of dynamite. The resulting blast shook the neighborhood, damaged roofs and broke the edger in the sawmill. What it did to the log is obvious. What it did to the crews of *Steinbek* and *Strathairly* may well be imagined. Within seconds the crews were glowering at each other over the sterns of their respective ships, and only after some forceful persuasion were they convinced that their ships were not damaged and that the thunder of war had not yet come to Bellingham.

In a short time *Strathairly* sailed, and her place was taken by another British steamer, *River Forth*. The commerce of the port continued, but the idle German sailing ship lay silently in her berth.

When the war in Europe began to drag out and it became obvious that their ship was to be tied up for a long, indefinite period, some of the crew began to leave. Some deserted. Captain Wohlers was young but not easy to get along with. Two of the sailors went to work at a sawmill near Alger, Washington, where they learned to speak English. In time, one of them named Ed Brinkman returned to Germany and rose through the ranks of the Nazi party, becoming a high official handling propaganda and publications.⁴ Mr. Thomsen the mate also left, and was succeeded in his position by the second mate, Mr. Otto Jentsch.

The year 1914 ended with little or no change in *Steinbek's* status, and 1915 entered. The German tide in Europe was running high. In May 1915 Captain Wohlers was ordered to get his ship ready to shift to Winslow, in Eagle Harbor, for dry-docking. Knohr and Burchard declared, through the German consul and agent in Seattle, that they believed the war would be over within six months, and they wanted the ship in condition to load a cargo and put to sea. Close by was the Russian ship *Tasmania* of Mariehamn in the Åland Islands, loading lumber at the E. K. Wood Lumber Company dock for Europe. Several sailors deserted from this ship just before sailing. Perhaps they harbored some personal doubts about the coming voyage. Whatever their reasons, they, too, felt that trying to work ashore in the peaceful northwest was better than risking the U-boat infested North Atlantic.

Steinbek's crew was down to a bare half-dozen, including the captain and mate, when, at 5:30 P.M., 21 May 1915, her lines were taken in and a

⁴ D. H. Clark, *Eighteen Men and a Horse* (Seattle: Metropolitan Press, 1949), p. 89.

tug took charge of her for the tow to Eagle Harbor. Early the next morning she arrived at her destination. Though her owners intended to dry-dock her, this plan was not carried out and *Steinbek* was moored to the north shore.

Nearby was the steamer *Saxonia*. She had arrived in Puget Sound on a passage from the Far East in late July 1914. She began loading in the Columbia River, taking about 2,000 M feet of lumber, shifting to Tacoma on 30 July. There she began to load a part cargo of oars for the United States Government, consigned to Manila. After two days of loading, the owners ordered the loading stopped, cargo discharged, and, when it became apparent that *Saxonia* could not carry out her intended voyage, she was ordered to Seattle where her Chinese crew was paid off. From there she was taken to Winslow and laid up. Only Captain Helfers and a few of his officers and German sailors and the black gang remained on board.

The war dragged on and on, with no end in sight, and certainly no charter for the ship. A fall gale swept over Bainbridge Island, parted the mooring lines of *Saxonia* and drove the steamer down on the sailing ship. They were separated and it was determined that little damage, if any, was sustained by either ship. They lay together during the winter of 1915-1916 with only a few sailors and engineers between them. The Kaiser's fifty-seventh birthday was celebrated on 27 January 1916 and both *Saxonia* and *Steinbek* were 'dressed' for the occasion. Eventually both ships were towed to the south shore of the harbor and lay there together in idleness.

The year 1916 was one of heavy military efforts on the Western Front but no decisions. Early in 1917 the tempo of hostilities and the wider scope of sea warfare began to run against the Allies and to drag the heretofore neutral United States toward the conflict. By April the United States had joined the Allies and brought its full potential power into the common effort.

War was declared by Congress on 6 April 1917, and the government moved immediately to seize enemy property. Some of the first property to be taken were the German ships in American ports. In Puget Sound there were *Steinbek* and *Saxonia*; in Astoria the ship *Arnoldus Vinnen* and four-mast bark *Kurt*; in Portland the four-mast bark *Dalbek*; in San Francisco the four-mast bark *Ottawa*; in New York the ship *Indra* and bark *Matador*. All these besides numerous steamers which were also seized.

Upon the declaration of war, Captain Joseph Reardon, a navy pilot for Puget Sound waters, took fourteen marines from the Puget Sound Navy shipyard at Bremerton and seized the two ships in Eagle Harbor

as prizes of war. Shortly thereafter the United States Customs appointed deputies to stay on board each ship and protect the newly acquired properties in the interests of the United States Navy and United States Shipping Board. This latter agency became nominal owner of all seized merchant shipping property taken from the enemy.

For a short time prior to seizure a careful watch had been kept by some Winslowites on the comings and goings of the German crews. The more suspicious were quite sure that the two ships were mined, to be destroyed by the crews. Examination of *Saxonia* did reveal copper tubing missing and cylinders bored. Her engines were severely damaged and shortly afterward she was towed to Bremerton and overhauled for sea service. As U.S.S. *Savannah* she became a mothership for the U. S. Navy's submarine fleet in the Pacific.

Captain Gibbs of the San Francisco Board of Marine Underwriters was named as a surveyor to inspect *Steinbek*, accompanied by Mr. Allan McDonald, a marine surveyor of Seattle, and Mr. Eric Pousard, dockmaster of the Winslow dry dock. To all appearances the ship seemed to be sound enough. But a close inspection of the ship's standing rigging revealed a serious weakness, one which might have proved fatal had the ship been sent to sea without a complete overhaul. As the United States approached the war, Captain Wohlers and his handful of men cut away the seizings of the backstays and then cut those heavy wires to a point where they did not part completely but where all strength and use were gone. The seizings were then replaced over the cut and the appearance was the same. The intention of the Germans was to preserve the appearance of the standing rigging, so that if the American authorities were hasty in sending the ship to sea without a careful survey, the first good roll in a seaway would result in the ship's complete dismasting and possible loss.

Some time was spent in making preliminary surveys of *Steinbek* and the other German ships. Captain Gibbs and Captain McNaught, the latter also of the San Francisco Board, spent Sunday, 29 April, in Astoria looking over the two ships laid up there, and then proceeded to Portland to inspect *Dalbek*. Of the four sailing ships in the Northwest, only *Dalbek* was found to be in serious need of hull repairs. A few plates were badly corroded and replaced.

By 3 May all bids for contracts to refit *Steinbek* were received. They were compared and the award for the work went to Erland and Company of Seattle. Early in the morning of 4 May a crew of twelve men under supervision of Mr. George Campbell, secretary-treasurer of the com-

pany, was on its way to Winslow. By eleven that morning they were aboard *Steinbek* and at work.

Captain Wohlers was taken from *Steinbek* and kept under guard in Seattle, along with the others of his own crew and those who had remained with *Saxonia*. Ten days after the declaration of war, sixteen men left Seattle on the train for internment camps on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. Three others went to Astoria, under guard, to pick up some of their gear and joined the main group later. A total of nineteen men from the five ships in the Northwest remained to the last, out of all the crews that remained, and these were interned for the duration of the war. Their shipmates who had paid off or otherwise left the idle German ships prior to America's declaration of war in April 1917 were employed in various jobs at sea and ashore. From time to time a few of *Saxonia's* sailors and black-gang members got word of their former shipmates on Angel Island. Few contacts were maintained.

Captain Wohlers was soon after transferred to an internment camp at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. In the spring of 1918 he fell victim to the flu epidemic and developed pneumonia. He had always held hopes of returning to Germany to see his mother, of whom he was particularly fond. As the pneumonia got worse, Captain Wohlers apparently got delirious and imagined himself back home. Just before he died, he said, 'Thank God I am back home again.'

Captain Wohlers of *Steinbek* was buried near Fort Oglethorpe.

Erland and Company wasted little time in refitting *Steinbek*. There were other orders coming in for ship repair work and they planned to finish *Steinbek* and perhaps get another job or two before the first boom of work ran out. The ship was towed to Seattle for dry-docking going on the ways at Moran's Shipyard. After floating again, she was tied to the coal bunker docks where repairs and overhaul were completed. New stays replaced those which were cut through by the German crew.

By the end of May the Shipping Board was looking for some means by which *Steinbek* could be profitably employed. She was soon chartered to the Western Fuel Company of Oakland, California, a distributor of coal in the east Bay area, which needed her to transport coal in the coastwise trade between the coal ports of the Pacific Northwest and the Bay area. Early in June, before the final repairs were completed, Captain F. E. McKay took command of the refitted ship. About this time she was renamed *Northern Light*.

The renaming of *Steinbek* was in accordance with a plan introduced by the Shipping Board, that of giving the seized German sailing ships

the names of famous American clippers of a bygone era. And, seemingly in accord with this naming scheme, a program of training American cadets for wartime shipping was begun, hoping that the use of sailing ships would develop an interest in the industry. The German four-mast bark *Ottawa* lying in San Francisco was renamed *Flying Cloud*; *Dalbek* was given the name *Red Jacket*; *Kurt* was changed to *Dreadnaught*; *Arnoldus Vinnen* renamed *Gamecock*. Only the ship *Indra* and bark *Matador*, both seized in New York, were not given clipper ship names.

On 15 June 1917 a deep-sea tug came alongside *Northern Light* ex-*Steinbek*, made fast the towing wire and moved the gray-painted ship into the open waters of Puget Sound. For the first time in nearly three years she was being put to work.

After a delay at Port Townsend to clear with the customs officials and a call at Victoria for the Canadian pilot, *Northern Light* arrived at the Vancouver Island port of Nanaimo, the leading coal port in Canadian waters. There she lay for nearly a month, waiting for the berth at the coal dock, and intermittently loading a cargo. Finally a total of 3,314 tons were poured through her hatches and trimmed. Again the deep-sea tug *Tatoosh* took charge and on 16 July the pair left Nanaimo for Port Townsend and then on to San Francisco Bay. After the quarantine officer boarded the ship off Alcatraz Island, *Northern Light* was moored to the Western Fuel Company's dock in Oakland Creek and discharging began.

According to the terms of the contract between Western Fuel Company and the Shipping Board, *Northern Light* was to be towed along the coast as a barge, and as such would have no use for her numerous spars from which sails were stretched, nor the topgallant masts. With the exception of a few yards which were kept in position but not used, the ship was rigged down to her topmasts while in Oakland, and the unused spars and masts were stored in a corner of the coalyard of the charterers. The effect of eliminating this weight was supposed to lessen the rolling and improve the stability of the ship.

Northern Light delivered this first cargo of coal from Puget Sound, and then set out in tow, northbound, on the first of thirteen round voyages between Oakland and the Northwest. The average time for the passage each way was about five days, loading and discharging taking a little less for each operation.

Because no attempt had been made to operate the ship under sail in the coastwise trade, her crew was kept to a minimum; not enough to maintain full watches for the ship under sail, but adequate for the work that was required when the chief source of power was a deep-sea towing

tug. The Shipping Board eliminated several risks by having the ship towed along the coast, not the least of which would have been the difficulties attending the heavy traffic in sailors across the ship's decks. The upswing in the volume of shipping as the result of the war, and the related shipbuilding program drained off experienced sailing ship men from those ships which were still being operated under canvas. A ship the size of *Northern Light* would have required a crew of at least two dozen men, and would have provided little more than regular bus service between the Bay and Sound. Though *Northern Light* was in the 'foreign trade' while on those short voyages to Canada, the comings and goings of crews were inevitable with jobs becoming more plentiful. A round voyage lasted about three weeks.

Far more coal was lifted by the 'barge' *Northern Light*, operating under tow than could have been carried had the ship been sailed between ports. A brief comparison with the old coal droghers of twenty or thirty years before might be of interest at this point, quoting from the *Alta California* of early April 1881, published in San Francisco:

A sample of good work is that of the ship *Dashing Wave*, which left this port (San Francisco) on 25 March for Tacoma, where she loaded and arrived here on the 14th Inst., being but twenty days on the round trip. On the previous trip of this ship, she was but twenty days from the date of leaving Tacoma until she arrived back here again, and we question if two consecutive trips have been performed in less time (fifty-five days) than the two just completed by the *Wave*. As a comparison we give the following; the ship *Olympus* left Seabeck for here on 25 March and only arrived at this port last evening, being one day longer on the run down than the *Dashing Wave* was on the entire round trip. The *Wave* has landed four cargoes already at this port this year.

So much for *Dashing Wave*, which in her best years was a well-known ship of the 'clipper' class, and at the time of this report was owned by the Hanscn-Ackerson Mill Company of Tacoma. Most of the cargoes she carried were lumber, which took longer to load and discharge. We doubt if the U. S. Shipping Board had any specific knowledge of the fleet *Dashing Wave* and her voyagings along the coast thirty-nine years previously, but the necessity of keeping *Northern Light* on the move was accomplished by towing, not sailing her.

On 23 September 1917 the smoking tug *Tatoosh* passed Port Townsend at 8:10 A.M. with *Northern Light* rolling along behind under bare poles. The pair were inbound, proceeding down-Sound to the coal bunkers in Tacoma. The *Tacoma Daily Ledger* of 25 September noted the following:

One of the speediest dispatches recently made was experienced at the electric bunkers yesterday when the ship *Northern Light*, Captain F. E. McKay, berthed there in the morning and had completed taking a full cargo of 3320 tons of coal last night.

The ship was expected to take only half her cargo in Tacoma, to top off in Seattle, but the local supply was sufficient to complete the load. Thus, voyage number three was the shortest of all, considering the extra distance the ship had to travel to the lower Sound.

Ten years had passed since *Northern Light* had been in Tacoma. Her dispatch in 1917 couldn't have been much faster.

Captain McKay stayed with the ship until sometime in the fall of 1917. On her fourth voyage *Northern Light* called at Seattle for her cargo of coal, and while in port there her name was changed to *Arapahoe*. The Shipping Board had found that in naming their newly acquired sailing ships after clippers, they had picked names which were popular amongst shipowners and which already appeared in the pages of the registers. In order to eliminate confusion at this point, it was decided to rename the group again, and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson was asked to do the job. In a short time she bestowed names of American Indian tribes on the wind-jammers.

Captain Bolton assumed command of *Arapahoe* but did not stay with the ship very long. Within a short time Captain C. A. Lunn was appointed master and retained command until early 1918.

On 18 November 1917, shortly after arrival at San Francisco, Mr. William Bergquist, the mate, took pen in hand and leaned over the log-book to make an entry: 'Anchored off the Fair Grounds.⁵ Weather fine.' A couple of days later: 'At anchor off the Fairgrounds. Everybody paid off up to 17 November. Two AB's left, rest of the crew staying by. Captain Bolton left on account of sickness. Captain C. A. Lunn took charge.'

On 21 November at 2:30 P.M. the Red Stack tug *Sea Queen* came alongside and the crew of *Arapahoe* hove up the anchor. By 4:15 P.M. the ship was moored to the Western Fuel Company's coal bunkers in Oakland Creek, where 'two AB's joined the ship.'

The next day workmen from the Moore and Scott shipyard came aboard for a few miscellaneous repairs, and on 23 November the last of the coal was discharged to Western Fuel's storage yard. Once again the Puget Sound tug *Tatoosh* took *Arapahoe's* towing cable and set out through the Golden Gate as darkness settled down along the coast. The pilot was off

⁵ Site of the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915.

the ship by 7:30 P.M. and a half hour later the crew knocked off work after clearing up the ship's decks. When tug and tow passed Point Reyes abeam at 10:50 P.M. that night, their average speed was slightly in excess of seven knots. At midnight the wind was blowing lightly from the west, providing a good chance to keep up the steady speed and also the opportunity to stay in close to the coastline. Like the coastal steam-schooners, the tug skipper 'rode the breakers' and at 7 A.M. the next morning passed Point Arena three miles off, *Tatoosh* maintaining an average speed of over eight knots.

On 27 November the pair arrived off Victoria, British Columbia, and picked up the Canadian pilot before proceeding up the coast of Vancouver Island to Nanaimo. At 8 A.M. the next day *Arapahoe* anchored off the coal berth and lay there for more than three hours while quarantine, customs and immigration officials cleared the ship for entry into the port. At 11:30 A.M. the anchor was hove up, the ship shifted into the berth and loading begun.

Scarcely thirty-six hours passed while the cargo was loaded, and again *Tatoosh* came alongside for her charge and moved the loaded *Arapahoe* into the channel on a mean draft of 21 feet 05 inches. Both proceeded to Port Angeles more than ninety miles away, where *Arapahoe* anchored inside Ediz Hook and *Tatoosh* went to an oil dock for fuel. At 7:30 A.M. the next morning, 3 December, *Arapahoe's* anchor was hove up and once again the tow was resumed. Eight hours later *Tatoosh* Island was abeam, and the pair reached the unprotected spaces of the open Pacific.

Late the next night while off the central Oregon coast, the weather worsened and the wind shifted from south-southwest to west, with squalls and rain. The tug was signaled to slow down and *Arapahoe* hove to for an hour before midnight while the big ship's crew turned to on deck getting loose gear secured. Twelve hours later the tug let go the hawser because of engine trouble while the full-rigger lay to, rolling easily in the long swell. Finally, at 1 P.M. on 6 December, the tug came alongside, took the towline and proceeded on down the coast. About 7 P.M. Cape Arago was passed abeam, and four and a half hours later Cape Blanco was on the beam.

With the major coastal headlands passed safely, *Tatoosh* came up to the lightship off the Golden Gate and slowed down long enough for the pilot to board *Arapahoe*. Shortly after midnight, early in the morning of 9 December the port anchor and forty-five fathoms of chain were let go off quarantine grounds and the ship had arrived. With anchor lights rigged and a night watchman patrolling the decks, Captain Lunn await-

ed the doctor and customs officials who finally arrived shortly after day-break. In due time the anchor was hove up, tug made fast and the shift across the Bay into Oakland Creek completed.

Thus *Arapahoe* completed voyage number six, and delivered her coal cargo to its destination.

Captain Lunn completed one more round trip before the year 1917 ran out, and 1918 entered with the ship towing out through the Golden Gate, once more bound to Nanaimo in the same manner as before.

It has been said that in the short space of time between June 1917 and February 1918, eight masters were employed in *Arapahoe* and that five of them were discharged from the ship because of injuries or illnesses resulting from the ship's heavy rolling. No record has come to hand substantiating this claim, but in early February 1918 Captain Lunn was relieved by Captain Hans Wilhelmsen, a man forty-four years old. Captain Wilhelmsen had left the employ of the North Alaska Salmon Company the previous year, and then had spent a year as master of the Libby, McNeal and Libby Company's *Expansion* in Alaskan waters. He had put in his time in younger years in sailing ships, but this was his first big command.

By March 1918 the job of towing *Arapahoe* had fallen to the tug *Henry J. Biddle*. On voyage twelve, sailing from San Francisco on 14 March, Captain Wilhelmsen found it necessary and of some help to set a rag of sail to steady the ship's roll after passing Point Arena northbound. This appears to have been one of the few times the ship spread any canvas at all while serving in the capacity of a 'barge,' though it was probably only a staysail or other fore-and-after. Captain Wilhelmsen made one more round voyage and completed the last discharging on 23 April 1918. The charter that the Western Fuel Company had made with the Shipping Board's agent expired as *Arapahoe* lay alongside the company's coal dock in Oakland. The last crew had been paid off several days before and only the mate, Mr. Bergquist stayed by the ship as watchman while the cargo was being discharged.

A summary of *Arapahoe's* coastal voyages follows:

Voy.	1. August, 1917	Oakland-Seattle-Oakland	, 17 days, 3600 tons
	2 Aug-Sept "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland,	16 days, 3336 tons
	3 September "	Oakland-Tacoma-Oakland ,	12 days, 3400 tons
	4 October "	Oakland-Seattle-Oakland ,	13 days, 3442 tons
	5 Oct-Nov "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland,	13 days, 2487 tons
	6 Nov-Dec "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland,	15 days
	7 December "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland,	18 days
	8 December "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland,	14 days, 3050 tons

9	January 1918	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland, (about) 12 days
10	February "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland, (about) 18 days
11	Febr.-Mar "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland, 15 days
12	March "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland, 17 days, 3180 tons
13	April "	Oakland-Nanaimo-Oakland, 16 days

Almost as soon as the last bucket of coal was clear of the hatch, tugs took hold of the empty full-rigger and shifted her to the Municipal Dock where she made fast and was idle for the rest of the afternoon. A Shipping Board mate stopped on board for the night as watchman, and another chapter in the ship's history came to an end.

Arapahoe was not to lie idle for long. Concentration of American flag steamers was centering in the Atlantic and there was work for all available shipping left on the Pacific coast, including *Arapahoe* and the other former German sailing ships. By this time *Red Jacket*, ex-*Dalbek*, had been renamed *Monongahela* and was frequently seen on the Bay. *Dreadnaught*, ex-*Kurt*, became *Moshulu*. *Gamecock*, ex-*Arnoldus Vinnen* was given the name *Chillicothe*. *Flying Cloud*, ex-*Ottawa*, was renamed *Muscoota*. All these and some of the Alaska Packers Association's fleet of square-riggers were kept busy in the service of the Shipping Board, either through time charters from their owners, such as the Alaska Packers, or by the Board as direct owners.

A thorough survey of *Arapahoe* revealed a certain amount of deterioration not wholly unexpected, especially through the ship's rigging. Iron work, moving parts, manila, wire, blocks and yards were in need of repairs. Just one year had passed since the ship had been out of water, the last time being in Seattle just after the seizure.

At nine in the morning of 25 April, five workmen from the Moore and Scott shipyard of Oakland came aboard to handle lines and assist in shifting the ship to a berth in the yard, where work began to refit the ship for deepwater voyages. Captain Wilhelmsen remained in command of *Arapahoe* through the weeks of work, while a Captain Thompson from the Alaska Packers Association acted as night watchman and acting mate during the time the ship lay in the yard. At 1 P.M. that day a gang of longshoremen came aboard and began discharging the ship's sails, lying in the lazarettes and not used for a period of four years. These would need a good deal of repairing, if not complete replacement in some instances.

At 6 A.M. the next morning the fire was started under the steam donkey engine and a gang of eighteen longshoremen resumed the work of sending the ship's heavy sails ashore for repairs, and then cleaning up the holds. When the sails were out of the hatches, the loose coal was swept

up and discharged. The ship was in the hands of the shipyard workmen and the contract called for complete overhaul. That week ended with the work well under way.

On Monday, 29 April, workers began shoveling ballast out of the bilges while the last of the yards and topmasts were sent down for overhaul. Thus the problem of maintaining sufficient stability while work was being done inside next the keelson was accomplished, and surveyors and yard officials had a look at the plates which had long been covered up with ballast.

For ten days work progressed in, on and about the ship's decks. On 10 May *Arapahoe* was put into dry dock for a forty-eight-hour period of scraping, scaling, priming and painting of the bottom, finally going back into the water on the twelfth. She was next moored alongside a new, unfinished steamer hull and work resumed. During this spell of time in the Moore and Scott yard, the following work was done: renewed fore-topmast stay; chipped and painted the forecastle; fresh water tanks cleaned and given a cement wash; nearly all ballast discharged; the holds swept and cleaned; all topmasts sent down, overhauled and replaced; yards sent down for overhaul and replaced; decks overhauled, planks renewed where necessary and all caulked; crew's quarters and cabin painted out; rigging set up and renewed where necessary.

Struthers and Dixon of San Francisco were agents and operating managers for the U. S. Shipping Board, though title to ownership still remained with the Shipping Board itself. *Arapahoe* was immediately laid out for a voyage to Manila with general cargo, to begin loading in San Francisco as soon as she could be released from the shipyard in Oakland. On 15 May the last of the yards were swung into place, and at 5 P.M. the tugs *Liberty* and *Sea Queen* maneuvered alongside to make fast. *Arapahoe* was shifted across the Bay to Pier 32 and made fast there, all within the space of two hours. And the next morning a gang of riggers came aboard to resume setting up the rigging and getting the top hamper in condition for the proposed voyage.

Organized confusion was the keynote, with caulkers, painters, riggers, and longshoremen working above and below decks. On 20 May gangs of longshoremen came aboard to rig up cargo gear. Immediately, the cargo came alongside and the first of it to be stowed were steel rails, followed by more deadweight cargo. Ballast in any form, though oftentimes necessary, does not provide revenue, and as soon as enough of the steel cargo had been stowed in the bottom of the ship, a Crowley tug brought a scow alongside into which was dumped more of the ship's old ballast. While

steel bars and rails were going in through a couple of hatches, ballast came out of the others, and by 5 P.M. on 25 May more than half of the ballast was out. The ship's sails were returned, most of which were still serviceable, but two were in rags. They would be utilized in light weather and as patching material anyway; the ship would take them back and use the best parts.

Finally, on 26 May, most of the remaining ballast was discharged and work begun laying new planking in the 'tween decks. A big barge belonging to the well-known San Francisco firm of Haviside brought three boilers alongside, and were loaded by crane into the hold. A second mate, Mr. Charles Pettersen, was hired and began working on the twenty-sixth. He was a longshoreman by trade, but had put in enough time in sail to qualify for that position.

Still the caulking, painting and scraping went on, while the cargo was swung over the rail and stowed below. It was a general cargo in every sense of the term. A few automobiles were taken aboard and stowed away in safety; case-oil, or kerosene as it is also known, was blocked off by itself.

The worst of the work load was past by the end of May. On 3 June five of the ship's shoreside laborers were released and immediately sent to *Moshulu*, then in port after a hectic voyage from Sydney. The nucleus of a crew for *Arapahoe* was being shaped up, with the mate, second mate, steward, cabin boy and sailors' messboy working by the ship. The next day a carpenter came aboard and began work. The problem of finding experienced sailing ship men was not easily solved, nor did the government's program of steamship construction help matters. A shortage of experienced sailors developed. With a core of professional seamen, such as bos'n's, carpenter, sailmaker and a few A.B.'s to begin with, Captain Wilhelmsen took Shipping Board 'cadets' to fill out the watches. A trans-pacific voyage in the summertime would not place heavy demands on high quality performance from green men, but in time it was expected they would shape up.

On 6 June the bos'n began working and nine cadets reported aboard the big full-rigger. That the master of the ship was aware of the quality of his crew, then accumulating, is evidenced by the fact that practically all the work necessary to getting the ship ready for sea was done by shore-side riggers. In the time-honored tradition of ships of sail, little work was to be expected of the ship's crew before the outward pilot was dropped. However, *Arapahoe's* crew made an attempt to reeve off the braces to the brace winches, but turned over that complicated job to

riggers, who in turn struggled with the problem of putting wire on conical-shaped drums. Eventually the attempt was abandoned and the job of bracing yards went back to the old style, later in the voyage.

The last of the cargo was now in sight. Voyage stores were loaded while the crew hove in the anchor chain from a barge and shackled on the last shots to the anchors.

Monday, 10 June, saw the ship leave the pier and shift to an anchorage in the stream. There was more cargo to come and it was stowed in numbers one and three hatches. It was dynamite and must be stowed in the squares of the hatches and easily accessible.

From the log:

11 June, 8 AM. Riggers started bending mainsail and reeving off braces. Crew doing general ship's work. One Ordinary Seaman, Gus Lund and Cadet Sullivan started today. Bos'n and two cadets anchor watch at night.

The last of the cargo was stowed and the hatches covered up.

12 June, 8 AM. Riggers resume reeving off braces. Started today, Bos'n, one AB and six Ordinary Seamen. 13 June,—four cadets started today: James Wilkenson, Albert Smith, Edward L. Bond, Louis Ryan. 14 June, two cadets paid off. . . . riggers reeving braces. 15 June, riggers resume reeving off braces hanging blocks. Two cadets paid off, one cadet started. 5 PM, all knocked off except Carpenter and Mike Arnesen, two hours overtime.

Thus *Arapahoe* was readied for sea. With canvas again stretched to her yards, a clean bottom and otherwise well found, she spent the night of June fifteenth anchored in the stream off San Francisco on the eve of her first voyage to sea under canvas in over four years.

At 8 A.M. the next morning, Sunday, 16 June, a tug came out from behind a pierhead and made fast alongside, while the steam donkey on *Arapahoe* furnished the power to heave up the anchor. By 8:40 A.M. the ship was under way and moving out toward the Golden Gate and open sea beyond. Shortly after noon the lightship was passed abeam and five minutes later the Old Man 'blowed the whistle for setting fore and aft sails.' Within twenty minutes the tug was let go and *Arapahoe* was on her own, working slowly through the water with a light northwest wind helping her along. At 4 P.M. watches were set and the second mate stayed on deck in the time-honored tradition. 'The second mate takes her out like a man, the mate brings her home if he can.'

Captain Wilhelmsen and his mates were busy enough shaping up the crew of cadets and getting control of the myriad jobs, large and small, that made up the work of the sailing ship. Sail drill became a part of

ship's routine. In fact, the instruction began on deck with the royal yard lowered to the deck and the neophytes introduced to the fittings and practice of furling sail before going aloft. On 26 June, ten days out, the watches were drilled in furling and unfurling the fore royal and top-gallant sails. In the afternoon a new fore topsail and royal were bent and set, the job taking two hours.

On 1 July the southern end of the island of Hawaii was passed, about ten miles off. *Arapahoe* had averaged a little more than 128 miles per day, maintaining an over-all average of 5.3 knots.

On 4 July the ship's noon position was 19-00 N., 162-30 W., and Mr. Knudsen the mate got a good grip on the pencil to write in the log:

Light East wind, no work today. 8 KL AM the ensing was sit and all the boys took their hats off and saluted the flag. 6 KL (Six PM) Amplitude was taken and deviation found to be none.

It was the middle of summer in the northern hemisphere, and *Arapahoe* was not driven by the Trades to any great show of speed. From San Francisco to the 180th meridian she took twenty-six days, all of which, but one, showed less than 200 miles per day. On 8 July with an east wind she ran 221 miles, averaging a little over nine knots.

From the mate's log: '12 July, Noon position 19-30 North, 181-33 West. Passing 180 Meridian, Thursday 11 July was jumped.'

Captain Wilhelmsen patiently corrected the longitude to read 178-27 east.

A good part of the work that kept *Arapahoe's* crew busy was chipping rust and painting new surfaces, the never-ending chore of sailormen on steel ships. There were four idle years to make up for, and the corrosion had a good start.

On 16 July *Arapahoe* made 224 miles while part of the crew scraped the windlass forward, some put strops on the yards, and the balance of the crew sorted out rotten potatoes. *Arapahoe* was out thirty-two days.

Five days later, while running along on a westerly course with a heavy southerly gale and 'tremendous' sea running, a distress rocket was seen at 11:20 P.M. by the watch on deck. All hands were called, and as the rocket was seen to the leeward, it didn't take long to get the big full-rigger off on a course before the wind, running toward the scene of disaster. Early in the morning, at daybreak, lookouts were posted in the rigging to search for whatever distressed ship might be in the vicinity. Inexperienced eyes did not easily pick up the hulk of a sinking schooner, but Captain Wilhelmsen himself finally spotted the wreck, rolling helplessly

in the heavy sea. She was totally dismasted and on the verge of foundering. As *Arapahoe* approached the wreck, the sailors on the helpless vessel set fire to the cabin and deckhouses, having poured kerosene over them.

Arapahoe's lifeboats were quickly uncovered and manned. Captain Wilhelmsen gave the second mate, Mr. Pettersen ('Budweiser' Pettersen he was called because of his liking for the brand of beer that went by that name) a pistol, not knowing what kind of crew it was that huddled there on the foundering schooner. With the boat crew busy pulling on oars and bailing the leaking wooden lifeboat, the rescue was attempted.

Captain Wilhelmsen's log entry described the rescue as follows:

Eight AM sighted a schooner to leeward, squared away getting lifeboats ready to put over. 9 AM hove to, one and a half miles to windward, put starboard lifeboat over manned by Second Mate Charles Pettersen, Paul Betstrom, Joe Craig, OS, (an unidentified) AB, Bauma, Carpenter. Squared away, dropped vessel (*Arapahoe*) to leeward of wreck, name found to be *Ethel Zane*⁶ and waited for lifeboat. 11:30 AM lifeboat alongside OK with captain and eight men. During this time there was a gale blowing and a tremendous high sea running which made rescuing of the men very hazardous. 12:00 Noon. Lifeboat on skids, lashed, and vessel proceeding on her way. The position of the wreck Lat. 17-27N, 152-31 East.

Thus, a few short lines, with no more embellishments than were absolutely necessary described the snatching of nine men from their sinking ship to safety. Captain Wilhelmsen recalled many years later that the master of *Ethel Zane* had lost two other schooners in gales prior to this one.

Arapahoe's position was about 360 miles east of the Marianas chain of islands. For three more days she sailed west, and then Captain Wilhelmsen changed his course more to the south'ard to pass the islands south of Guam. From a point due south of Guam to Cape Engaño on the northern end of Luzon the ship took all of twenty-two days, averaging a little more than eighty-two miles per day.

Seventy-two days out *Arapahoe* passed through Balintang Channel and entered the China Sea. For five more days she worked slowly down the coast of Luzon toward the entrance to Manila Harbor.

Squally weather with tropical downpours enveloped the ship during the night of 30 August. The warm atmosphere and gusty winds made navigating somewhat difficult and lightning played around the horizon, lighting up the sea with colorful flashes. Shortly before 4 A.M. on 31 August a bolt of lightning struck *Arapahoe's* main topgallant mast about

⁶ *Ethel Zane* was a wooden four-mast schooner of 498 gross tons, built in 1891 by Peter Mathews at Eureka, California. At the time of her loss she was owned by Atkins, Kroll & Co., of San Francisco, copra merchants and importers.

three feet above the cap, cutting the mast in two. Though the mast was new, the lightning had struck in a weak spot. The broken section fell down toward the deck but was held by its stays and other rigging, swinging back and forth with the movement of the ship, but pointing directly down toward the hatch in which 150 tons of dynamite and explosives were stowed. Nothing could be done in the darkness, but in a short time day broke and the crew turned to to clear away the wreckage and eliminate the immediate hazard of having the mast drop through the hatch. A quick inventory revealed nothing of importance was missing in the way of gear, and by 4 P.M. everything on the mainmast in the way of the wreckage was down on deck. The fore-topgallant sail and the two main topsails were torn in places and were replaced the next day.

Though the wind remained moderate, it came out of the southwest and kept *Arapahoe* close-hauled on the starboard tack, not an easy course to follow while approaching Corregidor. Finally Cabra Island Light was sighted shortly after midnight on 2 September, scarcely forty-four hours after the lightning struck the ship, and *Arapahoe* passed in the harbor entrance, leaving the fortress island on the beam at 8 A.M.

She sailed right up to an anchorage off the Manila Harbor breakwater and anchored to forty-five fathoms of chain on the starboard anchor. As *Arapahoe* made the approach to her anchorage, a large, four-mast bark was seen anchored nearby. Captain Rasmussen had left San Francisco in the four-master *Monongahela* twenty days before Captain Wilhelmsen had sailed in *Arapahoe*.

'Ten dollars that is the *Monongahela*,' said Captain Wilhelmsen to the third mate, offering a bet.

'Taken,' was the reply.

As it turned out the ship was not *Monongahela*. Captain Rasmussen had apparently gone farther to the southward than *Arapahoe* had gone and was delayed on her passage by adverse winds in the South Philippine Sea. Six days after *Arapahoe* had arrived, *Monongahela* rolled into sight, 103 days out. *Arapahoe* had taken seventy-seven days from San Francisco to Manila.

The third mate collected his ten dollars; the four-mast bark at anchor was not identified.

To be continued

Notes

THE SOLITARY GRAVE OF DIEGO RAMIREZ ISLANDS

SIXTY miles southwest of Cape Horn are located Diego Ramirez Islands covering a sea area of nearly five miles and on Gonzalo Island, one of the many small islands making up this group, is the solitary grave of a young seaman who died 125 years ago. This grave is unique in that it has a very attractive marble headstone in excellent condition except the action of time and the elements makes the following inscription difficult to read:

IN
MEMORY OF
ANSEL L THOMES
BORN IN PORTLAND
AUG 21 1813
DIED FROM ON BOARD
THE SCHO --- HONZO
SEPT 30 1832
AGED 19 YEARS
I. H. P.

The word 'Honzo' is most difficult to decipher and could well read 'Monzo.' There is no indication of nationality but it is safe to assume he was English or American.

The grave is well cared for by Chilean naval personnel stationed at the light-house and radio station on Diego Ramirez. (Plate 12)

This young man must have been of a well-connected family since a marble headstone is quite rare in these icy south latitudes. The marker must have been erected during a later voyage of some ship to Antarctica.

It would be interesting to learn more of this young seaman and his family and the reasons why an expensive marble

headstone was transported to this remote island sixty miles south of the Horn. The writer has a photograph of this grave which he would be pleased to turn over to any surviving member of the family.

CAPT. EDGAR K. THOMPSON

NOTES ON MARINE DISASTERS OFF CAPE HORN, 1907

IN the winter of 1907, off Cape Horn, there occurred a series of marine disasters involving the American four-masted barks *Atlas* and *Arthur Sewall*, the American bark *Adolph Obrig*, and the Norwegian bark *Viking*. These events have given rise to some speculation and confusion, as the fates of three of the vessels have never been fully determined. The following notes are an attempt to present, as far as possible after almost half a century, all the facts relating to the loss of these vessels. They are based in part on information which, although readily available, has apparently been overlooked or misinterpreted by others who have written about these ships. All the questions about them cannot be answered, but it has been possible to fairly definitely establish what became of *Viking* and what did not become of *Arthur Sewall*.

On 25 March 1907, *Atlas* sailed from Baltimore for San Francisco; on 3 April, *Arthur Sewall* left Philadelphia for Seattle; on 10 April, *Adolph Obrig* sailed from New York bound for San Francisco; and on 2 May, *Viking* sailed from Auckland, New Zealand, for New York. Only one of these ships ever reached her destination, and she very nearly did not. *Arthur Sewall* and *Adolph Obrig* were not reported after sailing, and in due course both were posted missing. What happened to *Atlas* and *Viking* is best told by quoting from contemporary reports:

Log of *Atlas*, 5 June 1907:

Noon pos. by DR 36-19 S, 72-52 W. 1 AM Bar. 29.50, Overcast and squally weather. Moderate

sea and light wind between squalls. 6:30 PM a light was reported on the starboard beam. He didn't appear to take any notice of us so we burned a blue light. He then sheared off and appeared to be clear, but he must have hauled up again and making straight for us. We sure collision was inevitable so we put up our helm and wore her. Still he kept on until his sails were plainly seen, when it was too late he must have put his helm up and tried to keep off. We struck him on the port quarter, doing considerable damage to our bowsprit and starting our stem so that it leaked enough to keep all hands bailing. Pumps sounded and 4" water found. Carried away our fore topgallant mast and royal yard, and doing considerable damage to gear aloft. The ships stayed fast together for about an hour crashing into one another. All the crew and officers managed to clamber on board our vessel, but the Captain and his wife fell between the ships' sides and supposed to be drowned. 13 men all told came from the ship which proved to be the *Viking*, a Norwegian bark bound from Auckland to New York with a cargo of cowrie gum. We got one of the boats over while the ships were together and had her passed astern. When we got clear she was gone. Great coolness was displayed by the men. Our lights were reported shortly before we struck, to be burning brightly.

After the collision *Atlas* headed for Rio de Janeiro for repairs, arriving on 3 July. The log for subsequent days reports up to thirteen feet of water in the fore peak and frequent pumping. She was apparently kept afloat mainly by the fact that her collision bulkhead (the only one she had) kept the water out of the main hold.

New York Maritime Register, 10 July 1907:

Atlas (sp), from Baltimore March 25 for San Francisco, put into Rio Janeiro July 4 damaged as a result of a collision with bk *Viking* (Nor), from Auckland, N. Z. May 2 for New York. The *Viking* was abandoned and all on board, except the captain and his wife were saved.

New York Maritime Register, 23 October 1907:

Punta Arenas August 31—Str *Fridtjof* arrived August 23 from a sealing cruise and reported having seen the masts of a 4 masted vessel standing out of water on the SE corner of Noir Island, about halfway between Cape Pillar and Cape Horn. The upper masts were above the water and the royals set. There were traces of the crew having landed, but nothing further. The vessel had not been there long. A contract has been made for a diver to investigate.

New York Maritime Register, 4 December 1907:

Punta Arenas October 19—The name of the vessel stranded on Noir Island, as taken from a board which the divers found on the hull and brought here, is 'Viking of Arendal.' (Bark *Viking* (Nor) from Auckland May 2 for New York, was abandoned after collision with ship *Atlas*.)

New York Maritime Register, 18 December 1907:

Punta Arenas November 2—The salvors report nothing can be done for the vessel stranded off Noir Island. The vessel is in 10 fathoms and in such an exposed position that divers could only work during very rare intervals of fine weather. They brought back a board with the name 'Viking of Mandal' and about 60 cases of pitch (probably kauri gum from bk *Viking* (Nor), before reported abandoned after collision while on passage from Auckland for New York). The pitch was found about 60 miles from the stranding place. These cases and the wreck will be sold today.

Shipping Illustrated, 4 January 1908, p. 10:

The American ship *Atlas*, Captain Dart, which arrived at this port (San Francisco) on Christmas Eve, 275 days out of Baltimore, brought an unusual strange tale of the sea. The voyage was made tragic by a collision off Cape Horn attended by the sinking of the Norwegian barque *Viking*, Captain Peterson, bound from Hamburg to Callao. On June 6, at 6 p.m., the *Atlas* struck the barque in the darkness and both craft were badly damaged. The crew of the Norwegian succeeded in climbing aboard the American ship while the vessels hung together. Captain Peterson and his wife were lost, seemingly, because the former lost his head and resisted the attempts made to rescue the couple. According to Captain Dart's account of the disaster, a Scotch sailor on the *Viking* seized a line thrown from the *Atlas* and started to fasten it about the woman when Captain Peterson came up and implored his wife not to leave him. Considering the captain temporarily crazed, the sailor made the line fast about both the man and his wife and signaled the men on the *Atlas* to heave away. Captain Peterson instead of holding on, gave a shriek as they were suspended above the deck and let go his hold on the rope. As a result both fell, the captain dropping into the water and drowning. His wife met a worse fate, being caught between the sides of the two vessels and crushed to death. Captain Dart saved his own ship from sinking by hard work at the pumps, and 29 days later made Rio de Janeiro, where temporary repairs

were effected. Several attempts at mutinous conduct were made by the crew of the *Atlas* after the vessel left Rio. First mate McDonald drank too freely and some new sailors who were taken on at the South American port, said that the mate was trying to murder them. In order to prevent a mutiny the captain placed the mate in irons for several hours. The sailors, still refusing to take orders from McDonald, the captain relieved him and put the second officer in his place.

Shipping Illustrated, 11 January 1908, p. 37.

What appears to have been an unfortunate instance of panic during a collision in which the master of a vessel and his wife lost their lives, was that which occurred in connection with the Norwegian barque *Viking*, but which has not hitherto been brought to public attention. As told in the special correspondence of this paper from San Francisco last week, the crew of the *Viking* precipitately scrambled on board the American ship *Atlas* when the vessels collided during the night of June 6, but Captain Petersen refused to leave his barque and besought his wife to stay with him. 'Considering the captain temporarily crazed,' a sailor made a line fast about both him and his wife and attempted to hoist them on board the *Atlas*, but the captain broke away and, unfortunately, fell overboard, while his wife is said to have been killed by being jammed between the two vessels. In view of the fact which later developed, however, that the *Viking* drifted ashore derelict two months later, it would appear that the sailor who attempted the captain's rescue and not the captain himself, was 'temporarily crazed.' Had the crew of the *Viking* shown more confidence in their master and declined to abandon their barque, it is probable that the vessel and all hands would have been saved. Another sad loss due to panic!

The foregoing reports seem to establish beyond much doubt that the vessel sunk off Noir Island was *Viking* that collided with *Atlas*. It remains questionable whether she sank as a result of collision damage or from striking the rocks on or near the island, but the latter is more likely. Nevertheless, the report of the discovery of the wreck of *Viking* has frequently been overlooked or misinterpreted. Basil Lubbock (*The Down Easters*, p. 204), Mark Hennessy (*Sewall Ships of Steel*, p. 501), and J. Ferrell Colton (*Last of the Square-Rigged Ships*, p. 232) all state that *Atlas* ran into and sank the Norwegian bark, not mentioning the fact that

the latter remained afloat for some time and drifted over 100 miles before she sank.

From the first report from Punta Arenas, which described the sunken vessel as a four-master, it appeared as though she might be *Arthur Sewall*, which was over six months out and overdue when the report was received at New York. The subsequent reports clearly show that it was not *Arthur Sewall*. However, Lubbock (p. 197) has a story of the loss of *Arthur Sewall* on Noir Island that is obviously based on that first report, although the date he gives, 1908, is incorrect. And Colton (p. 234) also says *Arthur Sewall* was wrecked on Noir Island. He apparently followed Lubbock on this, as he gives the same erroneous date. Hennessy's account of the loss of *Arthur Sewall* (pp. 497-501) mentions signals reported seen by a passing vessel on an island off Cape Horn, but draws no conclusions as to the cause of the loss. Captain Robert Graham of *Erskine M. Phelps* suggested the possibility of a collision between *Arthur Sewall* and *Adolph Obrig* with both vessels sinking.

As with many other ships that went missing in the days before radio, it will probably never be known just what happened to these ships. It is hoped, however, that the foregoing notes may clear up some of the misapprehensions regarding these events.

Particulars of the four vessels are as follows:

Adolph Obrig—wood bark, 1,448 tons gross, 1,302 tons net, 208.2 x 38.6 x 23.0; built 1881 by Carleton & Norwood at Rockport, Maine; owned by I. F. Chapman & Co., New York; Captain W. Ross.

Arthur Sewall—steel 4-mast bark, 3,209 tons gross, 2,919 tons net, 332.0 x 45.2 x 25.6; built 1899 by Arthur Sewall & Co. at Bath, Maine; owned by Arthur Sewall & Co., Bath, Maine; Captain Burton Gaffry.

Atlas—steel 4-mast bark, 3,381 tons gross, 3,006 tons net, 332.4 x 45.4 x 26.1; built

1902 by Arthur Sewall & Co. at Bath, Maine; owned by the Standard Oil Co., New York; Captain Dart.

Viking—steel bark, 812 tons gross, 748 tons net, 190.9 x 32.1 x 17.3; built 1892 by Fevigs Jernskibsbyggeri at Arendal, Norway; owned by Actieselskabet 'Viking' (Hans H. Pettersen), Arendal, Norway; Captain Harald H. Pettersen.

FRANK W. THOBER

TROMELIN ISLAND

SOME years ago when I was serving as a watch-keeping officer in the Royal Indian Marine we were on passage from Port Louis, Mauritius, to Aden. Our route took us past the French islet of Tromelin,¹ some two hundred miles off the east coast of Madagascar in 16° south latitude. I had the curiosity to look up Tromelin in the sailing directions and to my surprise found this remote sandy patch had a remarkable story attached to it.

The island, or rather islet, apparently received its name from a Captain Tromelin who passed by it in or about the year 1809, in daylight. Looking through his glasses, he saw some black creatures waving and running about on the island, whereupon he hove to and sent off a boat to investigate.

Later on, the boat returned, bringing twelve coal-black, fair-haired Negresses, naked and somewhat gaunt, gibbering and greatly excited and overwrought.

Somehow or other the captain found some accommodation for these creatures in the lazarette and resumed his voyage in the course of which he learned, with some difficulty, how the women came to be there. Much of what they said was in bastard, mongrel French but the main facts of their story was as follows.

They had formed part of the camp

¹There is another island named Tromelin in the Pacific Ocean, in approximately 10° N. 140° E. shown on the National Geographic Society's map (1944 issue) as Fais or Tromelin Island.

followers of a French regiment which had been embarked in the transport *L'Etoile*, on passage to Mauritius in the year 1797. In the course of a dark night, the transport had run heavily ashore on the weather side, on an outlying reef. Half of the people on board were drowned, but during the night a large number managed to scramble on shore and gain the sandy islet. When daylight came these survivors had a realistic view of their plight. The wreck had slipped off the reef and foundered in deep water. Very little flotsam and jetsam came on shore, most of it of little value. The islet it seemed was a very small sandy patch on a coral base, the only vegetation being some coarse tussock grass. The islet was only ten feet above sea level at its highest part and in a bad gale was almost swept by wind and wave.

According to the women, who contradicted each other and whose accounts were garbled, most of the survivors died rapidly, the whites dying first. At length only the youngest and toughest Negro women remained. They lived, they explained, on fish, birds, shellfish and occasional rain water which collected in rocky pools.

The women's account was later checked with the French records and found to be generally correct. The records showed *L'Etoile* to have been lost in 1797 (cause unknown) whereas Captain Tromelin did not pass the islet until 1809.

The women had therefore existed on the islet for no less than twelve years. Their naturally dark skins had been rendered more intensely ebony by the exposure to the sun for so long; their hair had been bleached by sun and salt water. Most of these women must have been fairly young when wrecked, some in their teens, for it appeared that the eldest was no more than forty when rescued. Nor would the troops have accepted middle-aged or elderly women as laundresses and camp followers.

None of the tough young French

troops had survived the ordeal. Only blacks had survived, black women not men, which seems to show that in certain circumstances whites die more easily than blacks, and men than women, particularly young and strong girls.

It is probable also that these young Negresses were not troubled with any high mentality or profound psychic depths. They were mere animals whose main urge was to survive, though their sexual appetites, highly developed by contact with the troops when they were wrecked, could have had no satisfaction whatever during their long imprisonment.

One could understand the women surviving in such circumstances for twelve weeks or twelve months—but twelve years! And yet the loss of *L'Etoile* seems to have been clearly established to have taken place in 1797 and the rescue by Captain Tromelin in 1809. Furthermore, the nature and description of the islet is given in the sailing directions, and reference to the episode is, or was given in both the British and U. S. Hydrographic publications for this region.

So ends one of those innumerable sea incidents in the past which moved Byron to exclaim:

... as true a tale of dangers past
As ever the dark annals of the deep
Disclosed for man to dread
Or women weep.

LIEUT. COMDR. GEOFFREY RAWSON, R.N.

THE ROGERS COLLECTION OF SHIP MODELS, ANNAPOLIS

THE Rogers Collection is so well known, and its catalogue so lavishly illustrated, that the following critical notes may seem to need some justification. It is hoped, however, that this criticism may be thought sufficiently constructive to furnish an excuse.

The importance of the Collection is obvious. It has few rivals even in Europe, and in view of the comparative vulnerability of the European collec-

tions in the event of a future war its importance may be even greater in the future. It is therefore to be regretted that the recent catalogue is so uncritical in its descriptions of the various items, and although it may be ungracious to use its excellent illustrations as evidence against the models themselves, it is these photographs which furnish definite proof of the pitfalls awaiting any student who accepts the catalogue or models at their face value.

The greatest fault of the catalogue is that its descriptions, while quoting many details which are superfluous in view of the presence of excellent photographs, omit almost all references to additions and repairs made in recent years, however drastic these latter may have been. It is indeed a fact that the occasional mention of repairs to certain models is misleading in that it implies that all models not so noted are in their original condition. Similarly, details of the style and material of decoration without further comment are most misleading when it can be shown that the decoration in question is of modern origin. Mr. R. C. Anderson has already discussed some of these unrecorded 'improvements' in the *Mariner's Mirror* of May 1955. The following examples are merely a few of the possible additions to the list quoted by him.

The models formerly belonging to the late Mr. Seymour Lucas have been particularly unfortunate. Nos. 50, 69 & 72 in the catalogue had a common origin and may be seen in their unrestored state in Plates 57-59 of Chatterton's *Sailing Models, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1934). Of these, No. 72 has been mentioned at length by Mr. Anderson. No. 50 was obviously a very old model, although it is possible that the heaviness of her head indicates some restoration in the past. At the date of Chatterton's photograph she still retained her canvas waistcloths and stanchions, although her fore-castle deck was missing. However worm-eaten she may have been

there can be no excuse for transferring her decorations to a new hull, in all probability merely to enable her to stand the strain of rigging. It is to be hoped that the old hull survives and may at some time be reunited to its lost carvings. No. 69 is probably the worst example. Originally it was a most unusual waterline model on an oval base-board. Onto the old upperworks have been grafted a totally modern and unvouched-for underbody. May I enter a caveat against anyone who may quote the fineness of her run or the flat scarf between keel and stem.

The Collection is particularly rich in its models of early East Indiamen. No. 74 is a very fine example of the standard-sized Indiaman of the 1780's, but the beam of 30 feet must be a mistake. This is impossibly narrow for a ship of the length given. No. 44 is an even finer specimen, but whatever may have been its provenance the attribution of French nationality needs correction. It has no resemblance to portraits of French vessels, but has all the hallmarks of an English Indiaman of the 1790's. No. 36, on the other hand, certainly does not represent any ship built in England for the Company's service. In particular, it does not appear to have the round-headed rudder evident in the two former examples, and which were universal in English East Indiamen. The headrails and stern decoration seem to have been added (less skilfully than usual) in modern times, whilst the pigmy figurehead obviously replaces a bust or half figure in the style of 1805 and later. This lat-

ter date is also suggested by the general shape of the hull and upright stem.

These remarks may seem unnecessarily harsh. It must, however, be stated most emphatically that, in view of the wholesale restoration which many models in the Collection have suffered, every model should be regarded as suspect unless vouched for by a description (or preferably, a photograph) of its original condition. Repairs and additions have been carried out with such skill that they may well defy detection in the future, and unless some such authentication is available it will be highly dangerous to accept the evidence of the models with anything less than the greatest caution.

It is possible that criticism of an American collection from a non-American source may be resented. It is also quite possible that I may, quite unwittingly, have given offense to those responsible for the Collection. As the study of naval architecture is worldwide, however, I must take this risk, and this is where the constructive criticism comes in. I believe that many of the papers connected with the formation of the Collection are still in existence. Would it not be possible, with the assistance of the NEPTUNE, to place on record as many as possible of the recent alterations and repairs to the models whilst those persons having the necessary knowledge can still assist? It is deplorable that so fine a collection should risk the stigma of containing so many unacknowledged 'semi-fakes.'

WILLIAM SALISBURY

Documents

EDWARD PREBLE'S REPORT ON THE FRIGATES, 1806

This memorandum is drawn from the *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, CXLVI, fol. 25411, in the Library of Congress. Although the manuscript is endorsed 'Preble Edw^d. rec^d. Jan. 1. 05,' in Jefferson's handwriting, this can hardly be regarded as the correct date for the preparation of the paper. By 1 January 1805 Preble had not yet returned from his Mediterranean command, and, inasmuch as some of the frigates mentioned in the report were then in ordinary at the Washington Navy Yard, it is unlikely that he would have had any recent knowledge of their condition. The description of the frigate *Chesapeake* as 'Lately repairing' is the best evidence of the date of the memorandum; for, on 28 January 1806, the Secretary of the Navy reported her as having 'lately been repaired' (*Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers* [Washington, 1939-1945]. VI, 357). Moreover, since Commodore Preble was at Washington in December 1805, it would appear that the memorandum

was prepared sometime during that month and that Jefferson, endorsing the paper on the first day of the new year, inadvertently wrote '05' when he should have written '06.'

MEMORANDUM OF THE CONDITION OF THE FRIGATES OF THE UNITED STATES

Constitution. A Prime Sailer, of excellent dimensions was rebuilt and new coppered in 1803 & will probably last seven years without any material repairs.
President and *United States*—Prime Sailers and well constructed but require to be rebuilt from the Wales.
Congress and *Constellation*—Well constructed Ships, and fast Sailers but want rebuilding from the Wales.—The *Congress* is the best Ship of the two.
Chesapeake—Lately repairing, is a good Ship and well constructed.
New York—Requires to be rebuilt from the wales—this Ship is rather narrow on the beam
Essex—A Prime Sailer, and the best model of a Frigate (of her rate) in the Navy—requires rebuilding from the Wales—
Boston a prime Sailer, not sufficiently broad on the Beam for a Frigate, but if cut down and repair'd will make an excellent Corvette to carry 22 long 12 pound Cannon or, 42 pound Carronades.
Adams—not sufficient beam for a Frigate, but cut down and repaired, will make a good Corvette being a fast Sailer, and will carry 42 pound Carronades.
Jen Adams—A Dull Sailer, and too narrow for a Man of War, but will make a good merchant Ship, and if not wanted as a Transport had better be sold out of Service

EDWARD PREBLE

Contributed by Christopher McKee

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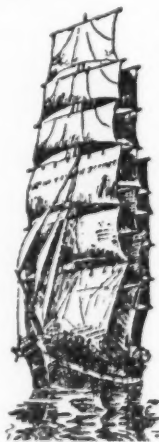
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